Voice of the Propagandist

A Collection of the Speeches of
Joseph Goebbels 1941 to 43

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Forward from the Brazen Heart

It was in the dark days of winter 1941/42. The realization weighed heavily on all the knowledgeable that the time of testing had come, and with it the great ordeal for the courage, strength, and steadfastness of the German people. During this time, Dr. Goebbels spoke in the New Aula of the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin before the German Academy. His speech was an appeal for a gigantic national effort. Through the power of his words, the strength of his arguments, and the logic of his reasoning, he stirred the hearts of even those who were becoming hesitant and weak. This had often been the case during the struggle when, after severe setbacks, even the most devout National Socialists began to lose courage. How often did Dr. Goebbels inspire them anew with his fiery speeches!

This speech before the German Academy is not included in this collection of speeches and essays. It summarized thoughts that had already been addressed in other works and publications or were further elaborated in later articles. However, the central idea of that speech gave this book its title. Dr. Goebbels referred to a word from the great Prussian king: that in times of storm and distress, one must be equipped "with guts of iron and with an iron heart to get rid of all sensitivity."

"The iron heart" of the German people was the focus of everything Dr. Goebbels said and wrote during these years of war; an iron heart, hard and brave enough to withstand all the storms of the time, was always the goal of his entire work. Only someone who truly knows the people can master such a task. Whoever wants to speak to the people must come from the people and stand in the midst of the people; otherwise, they will not understand and trust him.

Dr. Goebbels always maintained this close personal contact. He regularly arranged to speak with soldiers who came directly from the front, to talk with bombing victims, and to listen to the worries of a worker's wife. There are countless direct channels between him and the people in all their layers and classes.

Sometimes it happens in conversation that someone feels the need to point something out. They are almost always surprised to find that Dr. Goebbels already knows everything they wanted to tell him and knows it in detail. Of course, he cannot relieve or mitigate all the worries and hardships that the war inevitably brings and that often weigh heavily on the lives and daily routines of individuals. But often it is a comfort and a reassurance to know that "up there" there is not a government in an airless space that knows nothing of these things, but that all the worries of the common man are also their worries, which they bear no less heavily.

Sometimes in recent years, a topic weighed heavily like a thunderstorm in the air, burdening and oppressing everyone's minds. Some thought they could only speak about it in whispers, and they were most surprised when Dr. Goebbels addressed these supposedly sensitive issues frankly and freely in his next essay, always at the right time. Doubts were then dispelled at once, and the core of the matter was stripped of its terrifying cloak.

This is the secret many seek and suspect in Dr. Goebbels' propaganda: that he stands honestly before the people to openly discuss all the day's problems, to examine the situation in the full spotlight of public scrutiny, and to draw conclusions in front of everyone. This method of argument always has the most profound effect, and the enemy's noise and phrases are worth nothing against it.

Lies and noise are the means that form the core of our enemies' news policy in this war. How could they dare speak to their peoples simply by telling them the truth! Or where on the enemy side is there a responsible statesman who, like Dr. Goebbels, has engaged in an open dialogue with his people from the first day of the war? If one were to publish the speeches and essays of any leading figure on the other side since the beginning of the war, it would result in a truly embarrassing, mocking picture of rosy illusions and bitter self-deception.

So unimaginative and miserable is the propaganda of our enemies that today we can predict with absolute certainty how and with what words they will react when we deal them a new blow. They no longer find their way out of the thicket of contradictions and lies behind which they sought cover.

But it is not just the intellectual sterility of the enemy's propaganda and the hopelessness of their situation. There is probably no one in a leading and responsible position among them who has the courage to put their personal opinion on paper week after week. What certainty of prognosis, what clarity of judgment of political and military events and possibilities speaks from the mere fact of these publications!

It is truly a special relationship of trust expressed in the open treatment of all current issues in weekly articles. Dr. Goebbels has always maintained that the German people can learn everything, understand everything, and endure everything, and therefore nothing needs to be hidden from them if things are explained correctly. The only consideration that sometimes prevents certain matters from being publicly discussed is the enemy's eavesdropping.

The German people are also fully aware of the uniqueness of the fact that an incumbent minister takes up the pen week after week during the most critical time of the nation's life and expresses his views on the issues of the day with the same frankness as a journalist without public office. It is no wonder, then, that newspapers with the minister's articles are always sold out as soon as they appear.

What a difference from the times of the war from 1914 to 1918! Back then, too, German people lined up to make the opinions of a politician their own periodically. But back then, it was Jewish poison that a Maximilian Harden in his "Zukunft" dripped into the lifeblood of the German people drop by drop. What a transformation since then! Today, the people crowd to learn the opinion of a regime supporter so much that his views are almost only available under the counter!

Due to the unprecedented impact of his journalistic work, Dr. Goebbels has often been asked to have his articles reprinted in the entire German press. He refused. He does not want to take away the intimate, individual character of these publications, nor does he want to promote a compulsory unification of the German press through himself. However, to meet the masses' wishes as much as possible, his articles are regularly read on the Greater German Radio on Friday evenings and Sunday mornings. Few political broadcasts can expect as large an audience.

This is always evident in the feedback his essays receive. Each new work is followed by a true flood of letters and responses. The first wave comes from the homeland, much later, often two months later, the echo from the front follows. It is characteristic of the harmony between the front and the homeland that the reception of even a single sentence at the front has never been different from that at home. A soldier once expressed the impact of these articles on the front, succinctly and best saying what resonates in almost all letters:

"The Landser is most pleased with the Goebbels articles in the 'REICH', which are devoured with true eagerness. Groups form, and one reads aloud. And then the discussions are highly grateful. These articles should be mandatory in every German newspaper so that the often wonderfully, almost artistically formed thoughts become common property of all. We look forward to every word from him, and it always feels like we are in dialogue with him. I believe the minister hardly knows how much he enjoys the comradeship and affection of the Landser. This must be told to him."

It is understandable that the impact of these essays and speeches extends far beyond the borders of the Reich. The whole world listens to them. The neutral foreign countries regularly receive the German arguments almost firsthand and listen eagerly whenever Dr. Goebbels expresses his opinion on this or that issue. Among the articles compiled in this book, some occupied the front pages of all notable European newspapers for days. It is unlikely that any other single essay has caused as much ink to flow in a year as Dr. Goebbels' stance on the Second Front. It is not surprising that the enemy side can only respond to all these opinions with furious barking. But it is characteristic that the enemy can only start his polemics by tearing individual sentences out of context or knowingly falsifying what was actually said. Rarely are individual paragraphs of such articles correctly quoted in the enemy press: the arguments are so forceful, so sure and convincing, that they try to withhold them from the masses on the enemy side as much as possible.

It is typical of Dr. Goebbels' writing style that he sets out his theses and then always ignored all polemics against them. The future may decide on the correctness of his views on things, and it has always been shown in all essential points that his opinion remained valid before it. Therefore, nothing

needed to be changed or omitted in this collection, just as in the first volume of speeches and essays from the wartime, in the book "The Time Without Example," from what was said and written over a year of war. Dr. Goebbels dealt with theme after theme this year without regard to what the enemy tried to raise against it, and his theses stood firm. Week after week, the German arguments penetrated the world public; week after week, they found a public echo that cannot be surpassed. Their impact may not be evident everywhere today, but there is enough evidence that they are already working beneath the surface. How many formulations by Dr. Goebbels have made their way around the world and entered all cultured languages; how many terms coined by him reappear, sometimes unexpectedly, even in the enemy camp.

However, individual articles from the 'REICH' or the "Völkischer Beobachter" have become extraordinary historical documents within our people. The essay "When or How," for example, found in this book, marked a decisive departure from any illusionist idea of war during the crucial weeks of the beginning of winter in 1941.

History will one day pass judgment on our time. It will determine the share that each of the men, who today bear responsibility in their work areas by the Führer's will, has in the victory of our people. Already today, however, it is open before all eyes and is no secret what stance Dr. Goebbels has prepared for the German people to secure this path to victory. From the outbreak of war, he has always adhered to a thoroughly realistic optimism, in stark contrast to the irresponsible illusionist policy and the purpose optimism of our enemies, which stands in blatant contradiction to all facts. This realistic optimism has also been a shield for the German people, protecting them from any susceptibility in critical hours. Dr. Goebbels did not kindle straw fires of enthusiasm whose flames flare up high only to quickly die down again; he did not fill the souls with vague hopes that had to plummet to the ground after the first disappointment.

Instead of mere feelings, he instilled the cool knowledge of the inexorable necessity of this struggle in every individual, fostering faith in our actual strength instead of a flurry of numbers and words; instead of vain dreams of the future, he wanted and forged the unyielding, hard will to victory.

M. A. v. Schirmeister.

The Gratitude of the Homeland

Speech at the opening of the 3rd War Winter Relief Center

3 October 1941

The third year of the war began last week. The military successes achieved by the German Wehrmacht during these 24 months of the harshest battles surpass even the most optimistic expectations. Our soldiers have won truly historic victories on all fronts. They have defended the life and freedom of our people in fierce battles; their heroic deeds will be indelibly recorded in the book of German history. We, who are witnesses to these great military achievements, cannot yet, like later descendants, gain an exhaustive overview of what has already been accomplished. We are too entwined with the times to be able to give a binding historical judgment on them today. But one thing is certain: admired by the whole world, loved and revered by the homeland, the German Wehrmacht has gone to battle for our people's future on all fronts where the enemy tried to threaten our Reich, and it has fully met and even far exceeded the expectations placed on German arms and their bearers at the start of the war.

Meanwhile, the homeland has left nothing undone to prove itself worthy of its soldiers through work and fulfillment of duty. It wanted to express its gratitude to the front for ensuring that our country has largely been spared from the fury of war. Our borders are intact. The enemy has been repelled and driven back everywhere. The horrific human suffering usually associated with war has stopped at our doorstep. The powers that declared and imposed this war on us now also bear the heaviest burdens of the war. Fate has made a just decision.

From the enemy's side, attempts are repeatedly made to blame us for this war. In contrast, it cannot be stressed often enough that the plutocratic powers imposed this war on Germany out of frivolous recklessness in the fall of 1939. Germany is thus fighting it as a struggle for its national existence, defending its existence and the security of its living space. Fortunately, the enemy has not left the German people in any doubt about the suffering and humiliations they would inflict on us if we were to lose this war. Unlike in

the World War, they keep showing us repeatedly, in fits of furious hatred, the horrific fate that would be prepared for us if the front or the homeland were to fail.

It seems that over the past two years, the enemy has realized that they cannot defeat the German soldier on the battlefield with weapons. The German front has remained unshaken everywhere, advancing deeper and deeper into the enemy's territory in relentless offensives. The military power of the Reich cannot be broken. Therefore, the enemy pins its last hope on driving the homeland to collapse again, as in November 1918, in the decisive hour. They direct their temptations and seductions at it. They hope that, as in November 1918, it will fall for the hollow and empty phrases with which the enemy plutocracy tries to disintegrate our community and destroy our Reich. The enemy bases its last hopes for victory on this. They aim to make the German people waver in their will, their fighting spirit, and their confidence in victory through a similarly deceptive and stupid propaganda. These hopes are openly and cynically admitted on the other side. They make no secret of it. English newspapers debate almost scientifically whether it will be possible again to deceive the German people as in the World War, leading them astray with false promises.

This was also the deeper meaning of Churchill and Roosevelt's meeting on the Atlantic. The hypocritical declaration they made there has neither military nor political value; it is purely propagandistic in nature. According to its authors' will, it is supposed to exert its demoralizing effect on Germany and the countries of Europe in the upcoming severe confrontations. The enemy knows as well as we do that the Reich is economically and militarily invincible and can successfully resist any threat. Therefore, they try to attack the German people in its mental attitude and wear it down with incessant demoralizing propaganda. But they have apparently forgotten that the German people of today cannot be compared to that of 1918! Since 1933, the German nation has undergone a historical transformation process. It has been purified through a revolution. The result of this revolution is our present armed nation. We are equipped on all fronts to effectively counter the destructive will of our enemies. This may be doubted again and again in London, mainly because otherwise, they would have to give up their last hopes of victory. They may deny to the world, and especially to the English people, that National Socialism is a great popular movement encompassing the broad masses. They may declare that the

German people groan under unbearable dictatorial coercion. They may disregard all the evidence we present to the contrary. But one thing cannot be disputed, namely the successes achieved as a result of our National Socialist educational and enlightenment work among the German people, and which continue to be achieved.

The best evidence for the internal unity of the German nation and, above all, of the National Socialist homeland is the Winter Relief Fund of the German people. Established in the autumn of 1933, shortly after the seizure of power, it has grown over the years into the greatest social work of all time. Its successes are simply unimaginable. No nation in the world can present anything even remotely comparable. So, if one were to believe the English propaganda lies, a people supposedly groaning under the dictatorship of a terrorist regime has created a grand work of self-help, unparalleled in the social history of all times, through a magnificent spirit of sacrifice.

The mindset from which these achievements sprang forms the foundation of our national and state life. It was from this mindset that the National Socialist Reich emerged, and this mindset fills the broad masses of our people as they uphold, protect, and defend the Reich. Although the English plutocracies try to switch roles in this mighty struggle and pose as the great social reformers to us, it does them no good. They have been recognized by the world, and it will not take much longer for their own people to recognize them. The frontline between the authoritarian social states and the plutocratic money dictatorships is clear and unmistakable. That is why the plutocracies also hate and persecute National Socialist Germany, because National Socialism has succeeded in building a social people's system that, even if it did not want to, must inevitably have an infectious and exemplary effect on their own peoples in the long run.

The hopes that the plutocracies place on the demoralization of the German homeland are laughable, stupid, and childishly naive. The homeland proves this anew every day through its tireless and self-sacrificing dedication and work. It proves this through a voluntarily exercised socialism, which has found its most convincing expression in the Winter Relief Fund of the German people. Its collection results are, as has often been emphasized, social referendums in the best sense of the word. Here, a people helps itself and demonstrates its inner community and socialist solidarity through voluntary sacrifice.

It is a pleasure for me to present the report on the 2nd Winter War Relief Fund of the German people from the winter of 1940/41 to the German nation for their pride and to the world as a drastic lesson on its incorrigibility.

The total revenue of the 2nd Winter War Relief Fund 1940/41 amounts to 984,065,000 RM, compared to 681 million RM in the previous year. This represents an increase of 303 million RM. Alone on the donation Sundays of the Winter War Relief Fund, a sum of 164 million RM was raised. This is exactly double what was donated by the German people on the stew Sundays in the previous year. In the second Winter War Relief Fund 1940/41, 442 million WHW badges were distributed.

The German people — totaling the results of all war relief funds — have, on average, voluntarily donated about 4 million RM per day for social purposes over the past year. In total, we Germans have sacrificed the enormous sum of over four billion RM for the Winter Relief Fund in the past eight years. That is as much, to give an example, as the total state expenditures of Switzerland over ten years.

Each year, the donation results of the Winter Relief Fund skyrocketed considerably. The greatest increase, however, was brought about by the second Winter War Relief Fund, which exceeded the previous year's largest annual increase by 95 million RM.

It is an undeniable success of the National Socialist people's and state leadership of the past eight years that these large sums primarily did not have to be used to alleviate need. We were fortunate not only to have to eliminate misery but to be able to prevent future need proactively.

Nearly two-thirds of the total revenue of the Winter War Relief Fund, about 600 million RM, could be allocated as donations to the welfare organizations of the National Socialist People's Welfare, while the remaining third was used to alleviate need, especially in the newly added territories of the Reich. Extensive care measures were carried out for the districts of Ostmark, the Sudetenland, Upper Silesia, as well as for Alsace, Lorraine, and Luxembourg. The donations for these areas within the framework of the second Winter War Relief Fund were continued beyond April 1 until August 31, 1941.

In total, a sum of 55 million RM was used from the Winter War Relief Fund's resources for these purposes. The number of those cared for decreased by another 56,000 to about 5,900,000 compatriots in 1940/41. Every capable compatriot is involved in the production process and has a regular wage and sufficient income.

The NS People's Welfare has seen the goal of its work from the beginning in preserving and promoting all healthy members of the German people. For the war work of the NSV, this goal applies particularly; for the enemy's

will for destruction is not only directed against the German Wehrmacht and state power but also aims to devastatingly strike the German people in its substance. At the center of this continuous care and promotion are mother and child. They receive all the care, attention, and support, especially now when countless family fathers are drafted for military or other war services.

To relieve the working mother of the concern for the accommodation and upbringing of her children, the NSV has greatly increased the number of its daycare centers during the war and now maintains a total of 23,000 kindergartens. The largest building in the world, the German Stadium in Nuremberg, with its 420,000 seats, could not even accommodate half of the children cared for daily in our kindergartens.

With the increase in air raids on the German civilian population in September 1940, the Führer ordered the extended evacuation of children from particularly endangered areas to ensure the safety of our youth and mothers. As part of this action, 1.5 million children and over 300,000 mothers with about 400,000 infants and toddlers were sent to the countryside for recreation. About 2,000 special trains were required for the evacuation of these people. The magnitude of this achievement becomes particularly clear when considering that in the Soviet Union, 2 million children roam the country destitute, living off wild robbery and theft. Alone in the coal mines of the Donets Basin, 4,000 children have to perform the heaviest forced labor, while in Germany, since the beginning of the war, 2,100 children go on vacation every day. This number corresponds to the daily number of abortions in the Soviet Union, according to an official Soviet statistic.

From 1933 to today, 5.7 million children have been sent to the countryside for recreation. Added to this are half a million mothers with over 760,000 infants and toddlers.

While Germany masters these great social tasks, the Soviet human exploiters raise the working hours for 12 to 14-year-old children to 14 to 16 hours and force their starving youth to perform inhuman labor under terrorist methods. Even an official Soviet statistic must admit that in the Soviet Union, among 60 million young people, over 35 million are considered tuberculous.

The Bolsheviks also know no protection for expectant mothers. While every expectant mother in our country must stop working six weeks before giving birth, continuing to receive pay, Soviet propaganda boasts that the forced labor of women's work brigades often exceeds that of male slaves many times over.

Since the beginning of the war, 75,000 expectant mothers and new mothers have been cared for and kept healthy by the National Socialist People's Welfare. The assistance and advisory centers of the NSV are visited monthly by an average of 600,000 mothers. Managing this enormous task, summarized in a few numbers, was only possible because the best forces of the national community dedicated themselves to this greatest social work of all time.

In August 1939, 1,100,000 collaborators were available to the NSV. By April 30, 1941, their number increased to 1,165,000. The time contributed by the hundreds of thousands of voluntary collaborators and collectors is a significant sacrifice, becoming even more impressive when considering the additional funds that can be directed towards social care purposes, as the entire large helper group of the NSV and the Winter Relief Fund almost voluntarily forgoes any remuneration. Less than one percent of the helpers and collaborators working in the NSV are salaried.

While a voluntary army of millions commits itself to the welfare of the people in Germany, in the Soviet Union, the GPU has created a million-strong organization solely for spying and terrorizing the defenseless population.

The special wartime tasks required an increase in the deployment of health and welfare specialists, whose number grew from 29,000 on August 31, 1939, to 36,000 by April 30 of this year. Additionally, it was necessary to intensify the work of each individual since over 120,000, about 15 percent of the male collaborators, were drafted for military service.

That the German people commit to this work in the NSV is clearly reflected in the unusual increase in membership, which has grown by more than 2.5 million since the war began. While the NSV counted 11.9 million members at the beginning of the war, their continuously growing number already reached 14.6 million by April 30, 1940. Thus, the membership number of this German welfare organization alone corresponds to the number of inhabitants of the Baltic states and the Belarusian territories occupied by our troops combined.

All these are figures that speak for themselves. They need no explanatory commentary. They provide convincing evidence of the internal unity and practical socialism within the German people.

At the end of this grandiose aid work, I feel obliged to particularly thank the many hundreds of thousands of helpers whose selfless work is primarily responsible for this impressive achievement. They have made themselves available for the Winter Relief Fund with great idealism despite the war and the increased demands associated with it. The Winter Relief Fund is built on voluntariness both in its material and ideological achievements. This gives it its distinctly socialist character. It is a demonstration of our national community in the best sense of the word. The grand result achieved in the winter of 1940/41 is also meant to show the front the spirit that fills the homeland; it should be proof that, while they fight and risk their lives for the nation's freedom, the homeland, in tireless spirit of sacrifice, strives to express its gratitude and admiration to them. This sense of community, enabling the historic achievements of the war by front and homeland, should also be the foundation of our work and struggle for the future.

Can there be any more convincing proof of the internal strength of the German home front than these sober but so telling numbers just read? Shouldn't the whole world, even the enemy abroad, finally realize that it will be a futile attempt to split the German people or divert it from the path it has

recognized as right? For these numbers cannot be doubted; they are compelling because they translate daily into social services enjoyed by countless millions of people in Germany. What does the London plutocracy have to oppose this? Nothing but false social phrases and deceitful promises. They only talk about what they will do after the war; but they have missed their time. In 1918, they had the irretrievable chance to reorder Europe socially and nationally; they did not seize this chance and must therefore step down from the stage of decisions by a historical law.

Based on the proud results of the Winter War Relief Fund 1940/41, which I have brought to your and the German people's attention, we now once again step before the public to open the 3rd Winter War Relief Fund. I have the news for the officials gathered here and the countless millions of the German people connected with us through the radio that the Führer has returned to Berlin from the East specifically to speak to us and the entire German people for the opening of the 3rd Winter War Relief Fund. He wants to express to the homeland how he assesses the work done by the Winter War Relief Fund in the past years and what he expects from us in the coming winter. I am certain that his appeal to the entire German people will resonate in the hearts of all Germans.

The Matter of the Plague

October 5, 1941

In recent weeks, German news policy has not had an easy time. Considering that large-scale military operations were in preparation, of which the enemy was unaware and which therefore could not even be hinted at, the OKW (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht) report had to limit itself for some time to the stereotypically recurring statement that the fighting in the East was proceeding according to plan. Nothing more could be said without risking giving valuable clues to the Soviet army command and thus seriously endangering the planned operations.

Thus, German news management was forced to bear the burden of silence in the interest of warfare, which naturally also led to a certain strain on the mood of the German people. And this was when English and Bolshevik propaganda saw their great moment. They could talk while we had to remain silent. What has been fabricated in London and Moscow during these days and weeks would fill all the cowhides in the world. It is idle to repeat even a fraction of it today. It is already obsolete, swept away by the hot storm of world-moving military events whose further impacts we cannot yet fully foresee. Silence has paid off.

In all their boasting and blustering, the Bolsheviks and the English completely forgot to be on guard. They mistook our reticence in responding to their simple and foolish lies for embarrassment, and one day Budenny found himself trapped with five armies. A victory was won that will go down in military history as a classic annihilation battle. And now the great hangover sets in on the other side.

We have had similar developments frequently throughout this war. They always follow the same pattern, and one would therefore expect our opponents to learn from them. But not at all. They repeatedly walk into the open mouse trap as soon as they smell the bait and add a moral defeat to their military one with premature victory shouts. If only they would remain silent and wait! But no, they anticipate their illusionary successes and are then left with their boasting. If even a fraction of the mistakes that they have made

could be proven against us in this war, no one would take a piece of bread from us. This started with Poland and has now reached the Soviet Union. They have always made wrong forecasts. And yet they still have the audacity to present themselves to the world public as pure and unwavering truth fanatics, who represent things as they are, while they claim that we terrorize press freedom, spread lie upon lie, and are so caught up in lies that we don't know which way to turn.

Of course, we have made some mistakes in the course of this war. We do not hesitate to admit that. But on the whole, we have always been right. We have correctly assessed the military, economic, and psychological strengths of the warring powers, unlike the English. We need not be ashamed if someone reminds us of speeches or essays from 1939 or 1940. Can Mr. Churchill claim the same for himself? From the missed bus just before the Norwegian campaign, the impregnable Maginot Line, the Rupel Pass, which was supposed to hold forever, the island of Crete, which England was to defend as its life, to the Stalin Line, which was to be defended to the death and then suddenly never existed at all—everything was a sham and a deceit!

One would therefore think that English news policy would have long since lost its last credit in the neutral world. But on the contrary! Swedish and Swiss newspapers quote their lies with broad pleasure day by day and only give our factual reports the same space when they can no longer be contradicted. Even among us, there are still some incorrigibles—two death sentences and a number of prison sentences from recent times prove this—who cannot refrain from secretly tuning in to Radio London in the evenings behind closed doors to enrich their political and military knowledge with English lies. What do they expect to gain from this? They are acting not only criminally but also incredibly foolishly. For they surely do not seriously believe that the plutocrats in London maintain an expensive German news service to inform Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich about the political and military situation. They openly admit that they do it only to unsettle our people and sow discord between the leadership and the nation. Their news is therefore entirely designed to achieve this goal and serve this purpose. Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich voluntarily and without compulsion participate in such vileness.

Do they gain any advantage from it? Not at all! For firstly, they risk ending up in prison as traitors, and secondly, even if they are not caught, they

only give themselves worries and sleepless nights because they have no means of distinguishing right from wrong and truth from deceit.

For example, the English have put our casualty figures in the weeks of our silence at well over three million. That was, of course, pure nonsense. For firstly, the English are in no position to count our losses, and secondly, they do not want to, since their aim is to spread unrest among the German population with grossly exaggerated figures. We cannot respond to their lies because we want to come forward with accurate figures, which, however, are not yet available. So we have to limit ourselves to the explanation that our losses are normal, which we can also claim with a clear conscience based on the available records. The prison-worthy listener of Radio London thus carries around a loss figure of three million for three or four weeks, whispers it from ear to ear, and then must be taught one day that our losses, while individually very painful, do not even make up 10 percent of the English figures.

Apart from the criminal nature of such behavior, is it really worth listening to the English? We have to do it professionally. But honestly, we would be glad if someone could relieve us of this tiresome duty. It is so boring and stupid that it is getting on our nerves. And yet we know how things really are and can always precisely distinguish truth from deceit, which Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich cannot. No one gives them lectures on the situation in all areas. And when our radio and press remain silent, that is, mostly when operations of truly gigantic proportions are being prepared, every German's duty would be to wait and trust—a trust that finds its justification in countless historical successes—Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich secretly tune in to Radio London to be taken for fools by our bitterest enemies and haters. That is not only criminal; it is also extremely unfair. The Führer and his military and political collaborators are working hard, day and night, not for themselves but for their people, which is their everything. In the last hours before the great successes, they often hold their breath in concern, wondering if everything will go as planned and thought out, if an unforeseen hitch will occur somewhere, and then they look forward to the moment when they can present another great victory to the people and thus compensate them for the long silence. Our soldiers march and march day and night through rain and dust, break through bunkers and field fortifications, wade through streams, swim with their advance units through

rushing rivers, driven by the one thought of closing the trap in time and thus placing the unbreakable iron grip around the enemy.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich sit by the radio and let Mr. Churchill enlighten them. That is despicably mean. It is ungrateful, contemptible, and vile. It lacks the most primitive respect for the work and responsibility of the leadership. I know that the London radio will side with Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich upon learning of these statements. They deserve nothing else. The Jews and plutocrats in London would love to engage us in a conversation. They are too dumb and silly for that. Besides, we lack the time and desire for it. We have more and better things to do. Our duty is not to please them but to serve the German people, to help them win this war because we know it is our last but also our greatest chance.

We are well aware of the devastating effects British lying propaganda had on our nation during the World War. We do not want to expose our people to this danger a second time. If someone had stood up to the London liars back then, this war might not have been necessary. This time we want to learn from it, thoroughly and forever.

What do you say to the following example: the German Wehrmacht does not attack Kiev for weeks to save German soldiers' blood and because its command knows that this city will fall into our hands anyway in the encirclement battle that concluded last Saturday. Of course, it can say nothing about the plan of such an encirclement battle, otherwise, the enemy would also learn about it and take countermeasures. During the preparation period, which is carried out feverishly, British lying propaganda—safely, since we are condemned to silence—spreads the news that our attack is stalling because a plague has broken out in Kiev. Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich hear this during their edification hours on English radio and pass it on as rumors, causing much sorrow and heartbreak to a woman or mother whose husband or son is lying before Kiev, and we cannot tell them the truth because we must remain silent in the interest of our soldiers.

Do such rumor mongers not deserve prison and, in addition, the contempt of the entire people? Stupidity cannot be considered a mitigating circumstance here. We are at war. We are fighting for our lives. We did not lose the World War out of cowardice but out of stupidity. Therefore, let us be not only as strong as lions but also as wise as serpents. We must overcome

the enemy with a maximum of strength and intelligence. And if Mr. Bramsig and Mrs. Knöterich do not have enough brain in their heads to realize that one must not listen to the enemy in war, then they must be compelled by exemplary punishments to do so. This, too, is a demand of victory.

The Film as an Educator

Speech for the Opening of the HJ's Film Work

October 12, 1941

With the beginning of autumn this year, the HJ (Hitler Youth) film sessions, which proved to be so extraordinarily effective during the past two war winters and had such a favorable influence on the emotional and intellectual orientation of German youth, will be regularly conducted again. This aims to reinitiate the comprehensive activities of the HJ in this area.

Today, film stands at the heart of the people, and as a far-reaching national educational tool, it now again addresses German youth to fulfill its significant national political tasks; very different from earlier times, when movie theaters could often only be compared to dubious establishments. We have succeeded in elevating German film art to a height previously considered impossible through intensive educational and alignment efforts in the entire film production. While in the post-war years, the general rule for filmmaking could be summarized as "Youth not admitted," we are experiencing a nearly magical artistic, national, and educational rise of German film in the National Socialist era, especially since the war began. Today, it is leading the world—and there are a thousand proofs of this. At the last major international film competition at the Venice Biennale, the German film was awarded far ahead of all other national film productions under the strongest competition.

We do not deny that film, as a significant and penetrating mass art, must also serve entertainment. But in a time when the entire nation bears such heavy burdens and worries, entertainment has particular state-political value. It does not stand on the sidelines of public affairs and cannot escape the tasks set by political leadership. On the contrary, a national leadership that claims this honorary title must see it as its duty to lovingly and supportively accompany the people not only in their worries but also in their joys, not only in their burdens but also in their relaxations. In this regard, film is one of the most valuable factors for enhancing the few hours left to each German for refreshing their emotional strength after work.

Moreover, in its modern development, film is a first-class national educational tool. In its broad impact, it can almost be compared to elementary school, with the difference that elementary school teaches young people the basic knowledge not so strongly tied to ideological and educational aspects, while film continuously imparts its national influence and education to the adult and mature populace. Thus, the state cannot ignore the extraordinary possibilities inherent in it. It was only within the framework of the liberal-democratic state doctrine that it was conceivable for national leadership to overlook the educational elements inherent in film. The National Socialist state leadership, on the other hand, has also seized upon this extraordinarily broad and deep-reaching national educational tool and is putting all efforts into promoting its development and using it to the fullest extent in public life. We National Socialists do not close our eyes to the immense possibilities of this national leadership tool. We also do not leave it to politically neutral or even destructive forces in public life, as the democratic republic did.

It is often said that state leadership and promotion could only spoil the artistic character of art. This was also claimed regarding film when the National Socialist state leadership began to use its possibilities. However, all of humanity's cultural history, and certainly the present, proves the exact opposite. It cannot be denied that the arts experienced their greatest flourishing when they enjoyed the protection and promotion of public leadership institutions. No ancient art, no Greek or Roman architectural monument, no painting, and no sculpture of the Renaissance would be conceivable if their creators had not received the commission from a higher leadership authority.

It is correct to say that public leadership should not interfere with the internal creation of art without causing significant harm. Therefore, the National Socialist state has always refrained from the ambition of creating art itself. In wise restraint, it has been content to promote art and spiritually and intellectually align it with its educational task for the people. It considers it its foremost leadership task to infuse art with new impulses, open its eyes to the greatness of the time, and thus also imbue it with the ambition to capture and represent the time in artistic images.

Just as in all other arts, the commission represents the most important incentive for artistic creation in film. This is far too little known to the public to be accepted without contradiction. Its great successes, which it achieved mainly in the past two war years with the applause of the entire film-loving audience in the Reich and far beyond our borders, are primarily due to the strongest state promotion it received. We also ensured that it received commissions in the broadest sense. The greatest film art works of the past two years resulted from state leadership commissions.

The state did not make these films; it only initiated them. It determined their intent and educational tendency. It gave the commission not to know-it-all dilettantes or ignoramuses who attempted to approach it because they could not achieve success in free competition. The commission was given to the most proven and qualified forces of German film art; and as the success shows, this has led to a higher development of German film, which we all considered impossible when we began.

Thus, the state commission in film creation no longer carries any disrepute; it represents the highest honor and the greatest incentive for the recipient. The state commission is subject to public criticism, by the most qualified critic, the public itself. And the public has passed judgment through its mass attendance, rejecting all aesthetic objections. What does the hysterical ranting of democratic press and art snobs matter in comparison! We, as in all other areas, have followed our own, individual, typically National Socialist path, which has led to enduring and nation-enthusing successes in an area long considered impossible. And ultimately, it is success that confirms the correctness of a chosen path and method.

Thus, film as a national educational art gains a completely new relationship with the people. We National Socialists entered politics with the passionate desire to clearly and uncompromisingly align all public life aspects with the people and their well-being. In this endeavor, we could not overlook film. We had to include it as a mass art for the millions of our nation in the realm of public leadership. The film, commissioned by the state, was and is one of our most valuable national educational factors. With its national objective, it also had an international impact far beyond the usual scope. Its successes, which led to a true breakthrough of German film art, serve as an example and inspiration for all European nations. And what was

most doubted by our critics before taking this new path has now been realized in the consistent implementation of our then-given predictions:

Our strongest national film subjects have led to the greatest international successes, these greatest national and international successes represented the strongest artistic successes, and the strongest artistic successes also achieved the highest box office results. We witnessed an experiment that represents something entirely new in the artistic life of our state. When we planned our great national educational films, we did not consider money but only that art and education were served. The films that were created in the most uncompromising artistic and pedagogical manner, not chasing money, were followed by money when they were presented to the public. This thoroughly overturned many outdated democratic views on art. The opposite of the liberal art theory has once again proven to be true.

Today, we are often accused by the opposing camp of pursuing propaganda art. We have never been aware of this. We do not want to conduct propaganda with our films; we want to create art, and indeed art that, in its highest sense, works as a national educator. If this art, because it is hardly surpassable in quality, also acts propagandistically, that is, promoting us and our views, this is not our expressed intention, but it can undoubtedly be considered a desirable addition to our artistic successes.

Art has the task of serving the nation to the highest degree through the highest development of its artistic character. We have succeeded in this. German film has undergone an upward development that seems almost astonishing, especially in the past two years. Our movie theaters are packed throughout summer and winter as never before. Millions of Germans flock to them, seeking edification, instruction, but also entertainment in them, just as in German theaters. There is hardly any rank difference between theater and film.

No one dares to downgrade film as an art of a lesser category to a second class anymore.

The work of the German newsreel has been exemplary and highly promotional in this regard. It has been supported by us to such an extent, especially through the heroic readiness of our propaganda companies, that without falling into national boasting, one can calmly claim today that we

hold a lead of miles ahead of world production in this area, which can no longer be caught up. We owe this mainly to our PK (Propaganda Company) men, most of whom come from the ranks of our film cameramen or were trained by them. Many of them have given their lives in the service of the German nation. Here, a highly modern form of warfare is revealed, which the amateurish propaganda of the enemy powers cannot reach. What do democratic prattlings mean in comparison, which refute themselves through their lack of success? Moreover, it can be observed here, as we have experienced in all other areas repeatedly, that our opponents first fight us only to then copy us. They make desperate efforts to catch up with our lead in this area. They will not succeed. German documentary and feature film art has developed to a height, especially under the strong and compelling stimulus of the war, which will now be our task to maintain and further expand in the coming years.

Today, we have once again opened the doors of our movie theaters in town and country for German youth. Once again, I appeal to this youth from the UFA Palace in Berlin, presenting the educational character of this activity that encompasses millions of boys and girls and putting in a good word for the entertaining part of our film art. This Sunday, 900,000 boys and girls have gathered in German movie theaters to mark the first film session of autumn 1941. Thus, German film gains a broad and deep impact on the growing youth at an early age. It is

used here as an educational but also as an entertaining factor. These sessions are not solely about the internal and external orientation of German youth; on the contrary, we consider it our task to also offer them relaxation and entertainment in the best sense during these harsh times, which do not leave even the youth untouched.

I have decided to lend my strongest support to this youth educational work because I am convinced that it will bring broad streams of blessing to our entire German youth. When I was your age, it was considered improper, and we boys preferred to go to the cinema for that very reason. We had to sneak into the smoky halls or barns converted into film screening rooms; what was offered to us there as mass entertainment at the beginning of the film was anything but art and did not deserve this honorary title in the slightest sense. Today, German youth no longer need to sneak into movie theaters. It is not a particular box-office hit and is no longer a lure for adults

when the signs at the theater doors say, "Youth not admitted!" On the contrary, our film production strives to create more and more films accessible to the entire people, high and low, rich and poor, young and old. We lead German youth into the movie theaters today, as they are no longer breeding grounds for anti-state and destructive views but national educational institutions in the truest sense of the word. The German film has finally overcome its growing pains under our strong and supportive influence. It has thus matured out of its adolescent years.

What development can we record with this! From low-grade cinema to film art! How much sweat, effort, idealism, and noble artistic fanaticism have been invested in this high and inspiring goal! Currently, a film is playing in German theaters depicting the fate of the pioneer of German theater, Karoline Neuber, titled "Komödianten" (Comedians). Back then, German theater faced the same decision as film does today; it had to make the leap from low-grade entertainment to art. Only with one difference from today: back then, the pioneers of true theater art were left to die laughed at or forgotten on the country roads; today, we provide the pioneers of true film art with state commissions, giving them the opportunity to realize their great plans and high goals under the greatest economic and intellectual support of the national leadership.

How fortunate must a youth be to live in such a state! What perspectives open up in all other areas for every boy who, equipped with the strong forces and incentives of his race, prepares to step into active life.

German film, just about to shed the last aberrations of a past unartistic development, opens its doors wide for German youth again from this Sunday for the coming winter. On many Sundays in the coming months, many millions of German boys and girls will gather before the screen, and in the dramatic events unfolding before their burning eyes, they will learn to recognize and understand life. Thus, film fulfills its mission as a national educator, especially for the most educable and education-hungry part of the German people, its youth.

In this spirit, I open this massive work with my best wishes, for the joy of German youth, the honor of German film, and the blessing of our nation.

Soldiers in the Spirit of Battle

October 12, 1941

The attitude of the people, both at the front and at home, is a decisive factor in modern warfare. This was already the case in the World War, and if we Germans had not failed in this regard, we would have won back then. Even in this war, our enemies, recognizing that they cannot defeat us with weapons, have placed their entire hope on psychological warfare. Despite all evidence to the contrary, they believe that through continuous subversive propaganda, they can eventually separate the German people from their leadership. They do not shy away from any means of lies and slander in this regard. It is entirely impossible to refute all their fabrications and panic reports; German newspapers would need several pages daily for this, and our opponents would undoubtedly not lack the imagination to replenish their dwindling stock of lies as needed. Therefore, we must focus on presenting our policies and war efforts in broad and clear terms and let the facts speak for themselves. However, to prevent our people from committing political follies similar to those of November 1918, when fools and ideologues in their foolish naivety believed that a revolution had also broken out in France and that the English had hoisted the red flag on their warships, the law commands not to listen when the enemy speaks.

This does not mean that we should not discuss the concerns of the time among ourselves. Even cursing and occasional complaining are not elevated to state crimes if someone has been upset about this or that and feels the need to vent their pent-up emotions. The many unpleasant side effects of the war, which are unavoidable, provide ample opportunity for this. However, with some thought, even the dullest person will realize that the government is not always to blame. It can do many things, but not, for example, control the weather. If the winter lasts abnormally long, then the early potatoes will come later than usual. One can be upset about it and complain, but they won't grow faster because of that. And the government doesn't smoke the cigarettes that are missing everywhere today; the public smokes up to 25 percent more than before the war, and our tobacco industry simply cannot meet this increased demand.

These are issues we need to resolve among ourselves. The English have no say in the matter because, first, the early potatoes in Britain didn't grow any faster than ours, and there are lines in front of cigarette shops in London just like in Berlin, and second, British propagandists do not take up these issues to help us with early potatoes or cigarettes, but to incite our people. There is a good old rule in the military, which has probably existed as long as there have been soldiers and still applies today: occasional complaining is not considered uncomradely, but it must stay within the company, and a civilian has no right to interfere. A soldier may have this or that grievance against his captain, but he will never tolerate someone outside the company speaking against him.

This is called esprit de corps, and we need it as a nation today. We are a sworn community and belong together for better or worse. In this historical struggle, it is about the ultimate matters of our national life. Just as a victory will benefit us all, a defeat would destroy us all. The Treaty of Versailles showed us that a lost war is not paid for by the rich or can be offloaded onto the working class. This time, our enemies admittedly aim to strike at the core of our national life and destroy the German people as a community. They do not tire of explaining to the world that a super-Versailles must follow Versailles, and no normal human imagination suffices to even envision the details of this.

Therefore, it is no joke or whim that we remain relentlessly committed to shielding our people from the effects of enemy subversive propaganda; it is a matter of bitter seriousness. The battle for the souls of the peoples is also a theater of war, and even if fought with different weapons than in a regular war, it does not mean that the stakes are any less significant. A rumor cleverly launched by the enemy can sometimes cause more damage than a failed tank attack; and anyone who participates in spreading such a rumor acts as irresponsibly as a tank gunner who abandons his tank without firing a shot and flees.

Subversive work has always been a specialty of British propaganda. The English have mastered it brilliantly in their long colonial history. It usually involved dividing conquered peoples by playing off old and ingrained antagonisms, thereby weakening their resistance so that they could be kept in check with a minimum of military force. In this propaganda, the English consider any means fair. Depending on the need, they pose as plutocrats

playing the socialist, as Christians playing the Muslim, as Europeans playing the Arab, and vice versa. They are entirely unscrupulous in this. And since they often do not participate in the fight themselves but have others fight for them, they have plenty of time for this part of the war, even today. They sit on their island and watch. The bloody business is handled by the Poles or the Norwegians or the Dutch, Belgians, and French, the Serbs, Greeks, or Bolsheviks for them. The lords stay at home and plot intrigues, spread rumors, create noise, fill the world public with their lying clamor, and seek to divide the peoples from their governments to subdue and rule them more easily and safely.

A national leadership worthy of the name must make its people aware of this danger in good time and immunize them against the effects of such subversive work. This has nothing to do with fear. Even a doctor immunizes himself against contagious diseases without fearing them. It is simply a hygienic measure. Germs are treacherous enemies of healthy people, and one cannot claim that nothing will happen because one is healthy. One should not counter us with the argument that the English can listen to German broadcasts, for firstly, we do not lie like the English, and secondly, we want to win the war. If we wanted to do everything like the English, why should we win? The English also did not have compulsory military service before the war, which was one reason they were chased out of Europe by our soldiers wherever they showed up. They also did not build enough tanks and planes and were always inferior to our weapons for this reason. They also have a Churchill and not a Hitler. These are the prerequisites for our victory. We find nothing admirable in the English, and anyone who recommends them as a model must logically also wish and expect us to suffer the same defeats as they do.

Of course, they have certain advantages over us, which we must try to compensate for with increased effort. They are rich; we are poor. They possess an empire; we are confined to a small space. They have enjoyed solid national unity for centuries; we still bear the scars of former and recently overcome internal discord. They can afford luxuries that we must deny ourselves. But this is not only our weakness but also our strength. After London once forced us into war, we are constantly on the offensive, while Great Britain has its hands full defending itself. We have achieved our national unity through such severe sacrifices that we know what we have to lose. Nothing was given to us. What we possess, we had to fight for ourselves.

We must not give up any of it; on the contrary, we must gain more. This awareness makes us strong and invincible.

We must live more disciplined lives than the English out of national necessity. Our historical successes are largely the result of our discipline. Only because we think and act uniformly, especially in war, can the Führer make bold and risky decisions, trusting in the unity of the nation. Every great victory usually requires a great risk. The risk is reduced the more disciplined a nation is in supporting it. With a company that marches in unity, one can sometimes fight through even desperate situations; a disorderly mob, where everyone does as he pleases, is lost, even if it numbers an entire division.

We live in a time that holds all possibilities. It offers us a chance that would be irretrievably lost if we did not seize and hold onto it with both hands. Our Wehrmacht has created the military conditions for victory to such an extent that it can no longer be contested in this area. Our opponents know this as well as we do. They no longer speak of coming to Europe to overthrow us. In terms of food, we must stretch our resources, but we are at least as well off, if not better, than our enemies. Almost all of Europe is working for our armaments. No economic or military alliance can corner us. We are crisis-proof in every direction.

Therefore, the onslaught of enemy propaganda against our hearts. They want to defeat us through ourselves, and we must arm ourselves against this. We must close an iron ring around our community through which the enemy finds no entrance. This is also a military action and brings us closer to victory and peace. As long as the enemy hopes to overthrow us with his lying propaganda, he will continue to fight. Once he realizes that our community cannot be shaken in any way, he will see his last chance lost.

So let us act like soldiers in the battle of spirits! Let us defend our national life on this front with the same bravery and discipline with which the soldier does on the battlefield. Let us consider it the highest honor to be attacked and insulted by the enemy and the greatest disgrace to be praised or flattered by him.

Then his lying propaganda will break against our national discipline. The home front owes this to the front lines.

According to the Calendar

October 24, 1941

The English have not achieved a single significant victory in the course of the war so far. Whenever they encountered our soldiers in Europe or elsewhere, they had to retreat, usually after a short time, undertaking what they habitually call a "brilliant retreat." Their military prestige is practically gone; not only among neutral nations but even they themselves do not trust their capabilities much anymore. Occasionally, they still let out some inarticulate war cries, beat their swords loudly against their shields, and indulge in dark threats about the heroic deeds they intend to accomplish tomorrow or the day after; but that's all.

For example, when they spoke of the imminent invasion as the most natural thing in the world at the beginning of the Eastern campaign, every expert knew it was mere boasting, that they were only trying to provide a journalistic alibi because their military reputation was at rock bottom. Their national vanity naturally forbids them from admitting this publicly. They do not begrudge our Wehrmacht its victories. They cannot undo these victories with their rhetoric, but they try to create the impression that they are completely pointless and irrelevant for achieving final victory; moreover, they claim these victories come too late, and since they were expected and planned earlier by the German leadership, they are actually complete defeats.

This approach is as perfidious as it is foolish. When it comes to victories and successful campaigns in this war, the English would do well to remain silent and retreat into their corner. Instead, they indulge in loud boasting and know-it-all comments, marking our alleged operational and tactical errors like Beckmesser did with young Walther von Stolzing, only to sing the tune of "all for nothing" at the end of a victorious campaign.

If we take a million prisoners, they claim we actually intended to take two million, so our success is actually a failure. If we capture a city on October 15, they declare that the capture was originally planned for October 10, thus the Führer has miscalculated again, and now his plans are doomed to fail. If we conquer Kiev, they say with brazen innocence that we actually

wanted to conquer Leningrad and only took Kiev to placate our people; therefore, there is no reason for a special announcement, only reason to cover our heads and weep.

The English judge the war according to their own schedule. They act as if they are privy to the most secret discussions of our military and political leadership, knowing everything, not only what we say but also what we think. The presumption they display toward European intelligence is actually an insult; for the English know nothing. What they report about operations in the East is pure fabrication or deceit, concocted by their press scoundrels out of thin air. Not to mention their reports on political affairs in Germany. They include, for example, gossip stories in their German news service about our political or military leadership; the expert immediately sees that they derive their material for these brazen lies from old address books of the pre-war period, and sometimes it happens that they claim so-and-so has committed this or that, while in reality, he died three years ago. One really has to bear with them. They are so foolish that it stinks. One shouldn't really respond to their deceit; it refutes itself.

Imagine the English taking half a million prisoners on any battlefield. Put earplugs in your ears, for the ensuing uproar would endanger your eardrums! But they have no comparable success to show, and therefore they feed on the meager bread of criticism. They resemble the dog that barks at the moon.

One of their favorite tricks is the following: when the German Wehrmacht advances impetuously, they rush with their news far ahead of the facts. This indeed gives an immediate shock to British public opinion, but the next day it allows them to claim that our soldiers had to abandon the already achieved goals and yield to the enemy's pressure. Thus, a victory is turned into a defeat. This is precisely like telling a friend that his mother has died, only to delight him an hour later with the news that she only has the flu.

According to the English, we have no chance of winning the war. Our successes are the foundation of our defeat, while their failures and retreats are the foundation of their victory. That they had to evacuate the continent is of no significance for the further course of the war; that we did not enter Leningrad on October 15 as allegedly planned is the real reason why we have now and finally lost the war.

It is utterly ridiculous. The desk strategists in London have the brains of a cow. One cannot argue with them because they simply do not engage with any arguments. They have nothing to present. They are doing so terribly that one cannot even blame them for speaking and writing as they do. They resemble the squirrel that painstakingly searches for its food. They feel constantly humiliated by our successes and react to their inferiority complexes with insolent jabs. They, who have no influence at all on further developments in Europe, instead of creating a schedule for themselves, have created one for us, and according to that, we must win, whether we want to or not.

This was the case at the beginning of the war. In the winter of 1939/40, they declared that because we did not dare to storm the Maginot Line the previous October, the war was lost for us. When we snatched Norway from their planned grip, they claimed our fronts were now so extended that we could no longer win. When the Balkans were swept clean of them, they said it should have happened a year earlier; now it was completely pointless and had no influence on the further course of the war. When we shook off the Bolshevik threat and shattered the Soviet strike armies, they demanded that we gain ground. Now, when we gain ground, it is the other way around. We knock one continental weapon after another out of their hands; they respond that time works for them.

We are directly insulted by the presumption that we should respond to these banal objections. The Führer does not win according to the English plan but his own. The plutocrats in London have not the slightest idea what that plan is. They stumble around in the dark. When they set dates for us, it is out of sheer fear. They have to say something to their sheepishly patient public. They can hardly admit that they have been deceived in all their hopes and illusions. And besides, the course of the war is decided not by an improvised English schedule but by a fixed German plan. The English have no say in the matter.

The approach they are trying to use against us today is already known to us from the past. Our domestic opponents also always tried to set deadlines for us. When we entered the Reichstag on September 14, 1930, with 107 mandates, they wrote that if we did not come to power now, we never would. As if our voters had elected us only for the purpose of seeing us

in government on September 17, 1930! The same happened in the summer of 1932 when we won 230 mandates. Our opponents at that time knew us as poorly as the English do today. Our supporters elected us to renew Germany through a revolution; when and how was a secondary question for them. In any case, they did not want us to devalue their mandate through a rotten compromise. It is the same today. Our soldiers do not throw away their rifles because the German Wehrmacht did not march into Leningrad on the exact English-set date, and for our people, the question of how the war ends is much more important than when it ends.

The English cannot overturn our power positions in Europe, conquered through the victories of our Wehrmacht, by arbitrarily setting deadlines, any more than our domestic opponents could simply discuss away our 230 mandates. What they chatter is irrelevant. What matters are the pawns one holds in hand.

And indeed, our account looks much more favorable than the British. The English build on wishes, hopes, and illusions; we build exclusively on facts. Our prognosis for the future is entirely realistic. We do not deceive ourselves or our people. After a very sober assessment of the situation and the possibilities left to us and our opponents, we must conclude that victory is certain for us. When it will fall into our hands, no one knows; but that we will achieve it, we know exactly. It is completely irrelevant whether we also adhere to the schedule set by the English. We will win the war as we have planned, and not lose it as the English would like us to. At the beginning of each campaign, they declared that it was Hitler's gravest mistake. We do not find it wrong to have first defeated Poland, then taken a winter break to catch our breath, then chased the English out of Norway, then dealt with France and gained the coast against Great Britain, then cleaned up the Southeast, then crushed the Soviet Union's military offensive power to free our backs against England. This takes a little longer than some dreamers may have imagined, but it is absolutely certain. And we must proceed with certainty, for it is, after all, as our British critics have thankfully left us in no doubt, about the fate and future of our people.

The English would do well to spare us their schedule-setting and good advice in the future. We have no use for it. If at some point we intend to make a brilliant retreat somewhere, we will confidently turn to them again.

For now, we only intend to win. And to stand by us with good advice, they are too little professionally trained; we prefer to rely on ourselves.

And as for the Führer's plans, the English gentlemen always find out about them only when they are fulfilled. We think that's early enough, and as events have shown, usually far too early for their needs.

Book and Sword

October 26, 1941

Books are our good friends. They accompany us from our earliest youth to late old age throughout our entire existence. We Germans, as a nation of poets and thinkers, cannot imagine human life without books. In books, we see our time reflected, we seek to explore the past and understand the future. The book is our guide and inspiration.

A good book, according to an old rule, is worth more to us Germans than ten bad ones. And especially when times present people with special problems, when they escalate into crises or even erupt into violent revolutionary or warlike explosions, we gladly escape from the harshness of the day into the romantic expanse of the book. Our soldiers have experienced what the book means to us as a cultural people on all fronts in this war. Many of them, who perhaps did not always value the book as highly as it deserved when it was readily and unrestrictedly available to them, have come to love and appreciate it deeply only when they had to do without it. It is perhaps the most characteristic sign of our time that it seeks and finds its most beautiful and fulfilling realization in books.

Our strong and pronounced relationship with the book has also found its expression in the book itself. No nation cherishes its books as lovingly as we Germans. In its content and its external design, the German book has become exemplary for the whole world. The beautiful book, both in content and form, has always been our German ideal.

From the boundless expanses of our great German minds to the most subtle specialized writings, German book production encompasses the entire scope of our German nature and character. What a range from our classics with their universal ideas to specialized books that deal with a very small segment of our human life yet try to elevate the insignificant to the essential! In this field of specialized books, we Germans have led the world. There is no profession or area of life in our country that has not found its representation in extensive specialized literature. German specialized and

technical books are sought after worldwide. They are translated into all cultural languages, today as in the past.

Today, in this context, I draw public attention to a particular category of our book production because I feel that we still have some catching up to do here, measured by the height of our overall German literature. I mean children's books. In Germany, children begin reading at an early age. The innate educational drive of our people awakens in them quite early; children, whose minds are still capable of the strongest impressions, therefore have a claim to good books. Our children's books today do not yet fulfill what they promise. We are looking for books for our children that bring life in all its nuances and branches closer to them in an easily understandable and comprehensible way. Where our children want to read good books, they often still have to resort to those from past times. If we call our century the century of the child, I believe that we must also express this in children's books.

The same applies to soldiers' books. Perhaps one of the most poignant phenomena of this war is that what we experienced in the World War is repeated here: The soldier, standing and fighting at the fronts far from home, calls for the book because he sees in it a bridge back to civilian life and home. The book, once a self-evident companion of his life in peacetime, now becomes a sometimes long-missed comrade, with whom he connects cherished memories and thoughts of the past and future. The time we live in today finds its expression in books. Just as the book is a sign of the times, the time has also been shaped in books. This has never been more evident in our German history than today. If we may consider the Führer's epochal work "Mein Kampf" in this context, it is not an exaggeration to claim that books have been the intellectual breakthroughs of our time. They have, in their way, made history.

This is all the more understandable in a nation that, like us Germans, has always had a particularly close and intimate relationship with books. Our people are unimaginable without books. We, who were sometimes smiled at by our enemies as a nation of poets and thinkers, are proud of this honorary title; but we only needed to find the way to our own strength in addition to this strong inclination towards the intellectual to claim the right to true world power. This transformation of our national character is taking place in our time. The war has made this most evident. It has become a time of the sword

and a time of the book, and it is no coincidence that we solemnly open the great week of the German book here in the heart of the Reich, in the city of our classics, in the midst of the noise of battles, during a week in which the decisive struggle for European culture continues in the East.

This is done, however, under a different sign than it was in peacetime. Back then, we acknowledged the book only as a companion. Today, we acknowledge the book as a necessity of life. We have all experienced what the book truly means to us in these harsh months of war. Despite its harsh and relentless realism, the war brought us not a rejection, but an even stronger turn towards our classics and all the values enclosed in the times of our great intellectuality. Today, we are again surrounded by the entire atmosphere of this city, which we love so much because it most validly expresses one side of our German character, albeit with a harder and less romantic charm than before.

The war that our soldiers are victoriously fighting on all fronts today is more than just a fight for raw materials and living space for us Germans. It means for our nation the assertion of European culture, which we Germans have taken under our secure protection. Once again, the oldest and most valuable cultural peoples of the European continent have come together to defend what they have built over more than two millennia. Once again, the bodies of our soldiers stand protectively in front of an ancient cultural heritage that must be preserved forever, illuminated by the light of humanity.

What do the meaningless and dull chatter of uneducated literati, who defend a sterile civilization that is not worth living for, let alone dying for, mean in comparison? We have never taken them seriously and do not take them seriously today. From the height of a two-thousand-year history, we look down with sovereign contempt on these anti-cultural forces that only have humanitarian words in their mouths, behind which no values stand. Those who ally with the Bolsheviks in Europe's decisive hour to defend European culture are destroying themselves and their culture in the process. In these months, the Axis powers are defending themselves against the greatest crime against European culture. We respond to the criticism of our liberal-democratic opponents only by pointing to the German cultural achievement of two millennia, which no longer needs any justification. The systematic care that the National Socialist Reich has given to German cultural life in all its expressions and radiations over the past almost nine

years is our alibi against the literary appeals of our enemies, which are and will remain just paper.

One of the most important cultural assets to which we have given our special care in the past years of our National Socialist construction was and is the German book. Since the takeover of power, it has embarked on a truly proud ascent; and if, especially in war, the entire German people, in an unprecedented way, confess to the vastness of their poetry, it is the proudest proof of the success of our systematic book and cultural care in recent years.

The German book has two main tasks to fulfill in war: it shows the German people the immense backgrounds of the historical events of our time, and it provides them with strength and relaxation in the difficult weeks and months of war. For this reason, the German book has above all become the true property of the German soldier at the front. The phrase "Zarathustra in the knapsack of the German musketeer" has often become a reality today. Is there a more beautiful sign of our people's inner connection with the book than the fact that, especially in war, our classics are increasingly demanded and read by many thousands?

Alongside this stands the success of our book care, which can be backed up by numbers that far overshadow all our optimistic expectations. In the past reporting year, 250 million books and writings were produced in the Reich, with an average print run of around 11,000 copies per publication. Once again, the most prominent position is held by fiction, with a total production of 72 million books, including 39 million new publications. The number of 44 million newly reprinted books proves that, mainly due to our systematic book care, the book as a one-day sensation has completely disappeared. Truly valuable writings can count on the interest of our people for many years.

In second place stands the political and documentary literature of the time, with a total print run of 56 million. This circulation most strikingly disproves the enemy's argument that the German people have lost interest in the present. Among the 56 million books of the time, 33 million are new publications in the field of military and war literature. Additionally, there is the strongest participation of the German people in the literature of our friendly nations. In the reporting year alone, 641 foreign works were translated into German.

Considering the enormous amount of difficulties that had to be overcome, these successes must be rated even higher. Publishers and printers gave up a large part of their best employees to the Wehrmacht. The paper issue became more difficult and complicated week by week as the war continued. At the same time, it was the primary duty of German literature to fulfill its elemental duty to the fighting front. Over a hundred renowned German poets today wear the gray uniform as soldiers, mainly deployed in propaganda companies. They become heralds of the historical events of our time. They no longer sit at home at their desks writing appeals to the fighting front; they stand among the soldiers of the Reich to defend the homeland and, at the same time, give the people a close-up picture of the battles for the Reich and European culture.

When we call for the War Book Week 1941 today, this appeal is anything but an empty representation. This War Book Week is the prelude to new great actions in the service of German literature. It stands under the sign of book and sword and addresses the nation at the beginning of the third winter of war. It assigns special and important tasks to the entire people.

The first and foremost, so to speak, an honorary duty of the German people is to sufficiently supply the German Wehrmacht with good books in the coming winter. This is mainly done in two ways. A selection of the best literature will be produced in large print runs in the most handy and attractive format and handed over to the Wehrmacht for distribution. As the first result of this action, I will soon send 3 million books to the German soldiers at the front. This generous measure, which will surely be welcomed by our soldiers, will be repeated again in the course of the winter.

Additionally, the large-scale implementation of Reichsleiter Rosenberg's call for the 3rd NSDAP Book Collection continues. Countless millions of volumes from all areas of our German literature have gone to the front in the past two years thanks to this collection; but the reading hunger of our soldiers is still not satisfied. When the National Socialist movement now appeals to the German people again, it does not mean that book lovers should clean out their bookshelves of unnecessary reading material once more. For our soldiers, the best is just good enough here too. With the deployment of 7,000 party employees, 6.7 million books have so far been delivered to 60,000 Wehrmacht libraries. This large-scale action, which far surpasses

anything previously done in this field, is now to be continued with great effort. What week would be more suitable to prompt our fellow citizens to give the last of their books for our soldiers than this week, which stands throughout the Reich under the sign of the German book? At the same time, the promotion of book field mailings continues. Another 6 million German books have thus reached our soldiers.

But it is not only the front that calls for books; the homeland also needs them to the highest degree. The hardworking fellow citizens should especially enjoy the benefits of German cultural goods in wartime. It is not enough to take care of them solely through cultural events, to take them to the theater or cinema. The German farmer and worker, the German mother and housewife demand intellectual relaxation and new energy for the few hours of their free time. The homeland has a right to find the time in books and to be spiritually guided into the future beyond the present through books.

Large book and document exhibitions within the framework of Book Week are intended to give the German people an overview of the imperishable values that are laid down in German books. Here, they can best recognize what their poets and writers mean to them and what they owe them. As in all other areas, the impact in the field of literature also comes from people. The poet and writer is the center of the book scene. Since 1938, we have elevated it to a tradition to hold a German poets' meeting here on the sacred ground of Weimar in connection with the opening of the Week of the German Book. Each of these poets' meetings was a commitment to the joint obligation of poetic and writing Germany to the new Reich.

For the first time this year, we have invited leading authors of friendly nations to join us in the middle of the war. At my request, they have made a tour through the Reich. Everything has been shown to them, and nothing has been withheld from them. We have nothing to hide. They should study the people, land, and folks with open eyes and conclude from the strength that the German nation radiates today at home to the strength that our fighting front represents. Their just-concluded journey was a practical demonstration and instruction on whether the German nation has a right to finally shed its provincial shackles and take the path to world power.

When I now address the entire writing and reading Germany from Weimar at this hour, I combine this appeal to the nation with my heartfelt

thanks to all fellow citizens working in the service of German literature. The pride in our achievements so far, which fills them all, is fully shared by me. We have more reason than ever to be happy and satisfied in our outlook for the future.

Amid the battles fought for the new Europe, the great future tasks of our nation and, within it, of German literature as a whole are already emerging. How happy such a day must make us all! The whole nation is gathered around the German book at this hour. Book and sword as a unit form the symbol of this unparalleled time. Just as the sword is a weapon of the spirit in the struggle for a new perspective, so the book has become a weapon of the front in this struggle. When have we had more reason to look with deep trust and full glowing gratitude at the Führer and his soldiers, who protect Europe in this gigantic struggle and erect a bulwark against the attempt to flood our old and yet so young cultural continent with barbaric hordes from the East?

In this solemn hour, held only before this circle but received with gratitude by the whole nation, our eyes turn to the East. In firm and unwavering confidence, we feel united today as representatives of intellectual Germany with the Führer as the supreme protector of our cultural life. He had the courage to take up the fight against the eternal world enemy once again. With his soldiers, he protects everything we possess: our homes, our women and children, but also our culture, our eternal goods, and not least among them the German book as the sharpest weapon of our spirit. That it may go towards a blessed future is our heartfelt wish today.

In this spirit, I call upon the poets of our time. Most of them are fighting at the front, and perhaps one or another is a witness to this hour by chance at some radio far in the East, an hour they used to share with us in peacetime. That we want to be worthy of the time, this should be our vow at this hour. We want to describe it with the power of words, just as the German soldier shapes it with the power of the sword. Together with him, we want to fulfill it in the end.

To the Berliners

October 28, 1941

My Berliners!

We stand today at the beginning of the third year of this immense struggle for existence and freedom, in which we have found ourselves since September 1, 1939. It is a war whose significance and magnitude surpass everything the German people have experienced in their long and glorious history. This war has brought us not only new victories but also new sacrifices. It demands from each of us a great measure of patience, perseverance, and determination.

Berlin, our capital and the heart of the Reich, has been particularly tested in these times. The enemy has tried to break our spirit with bombs and fire, to shake our resolve with terror and destruction. But they have failed. The spirit of Berlin remains unbroken, its courage undiminished, and its faith in victory unwavering.

I speak to you today not just as your minister, but as a fellow Berliner, someone who shares your experiences, your hardships, and your hopes. I know what it means to live under the constant threat of air raids, to see our beloved city scarred by the enemy's attacks. But I also know the strength and resilience that define our great city. Berlin has always been a symbol of German strength and resolve, and today it stands as a beacon of our collective determination to endure and to triumph.

The enemy believes that they can break our will by attacking our homes, our families, and our lives. They think that by spreading fear and chaos, they can make us lose faith in our cause and in our leadership. But they underestimate the German spirit. They fail to understand that every attack only strengthens our resolve, that every act of destruction only reinforces our commitment to victory.

We have seen this spirit in action. When bombs fall, Berliners do not flee in panic; they face the danger with calm and courage. They help each

other, rebuild what has been destroyed, and continue with their lives with a quiet determination that speaks louder than any words. This is the true spirit of Berlin, a spirit that cannot be broken by bombs or bullets.

Our soldiers at the front draw strength from the knowledge that their families, their city, and their homeland stand firm behind them. They know that while they fight the enemy on the battlefield, we fight the enemy here at home. We fight with our work, our sacrifices, and our unyielding determination to support them in every way we can.

To the women of Berlin, who bear a heavy burden in these times, I extend my deepest gratitude. Your strength, your resilience, and your unwavering support for our soldiers are a source of inspiration for us all. You are the backbone of our home front, and your contributions are invaluable to our war effort.

To the men of Berlin, who work tirelessly in our factories, our fields, and our offices, I offer my sincere thanks. Your labor, your dedication, and your sacrifices are essential to our success. You provide the material and the means for our soldiers to continue their fight, and without you, our efforts would be in vain.

To the youth of Berlin, who face a future shaped by this war, I give my encouragement. Your courage, your energy, and your idealism are the hope of our nation. You will inherit the world we are fighting to create, and it is your strength and your spirit that will carry us forward to victory.

As we stand together in this great struggle, let us remember that we are not just fighting for ourselves, but for the future of our children and our children's children. We are fighting to ensure that they will live in a world free from the threats and the tyranny that we face today. We are fighting to preserve our way of life, our culture, and our heritage.

Berliners, I ask you to continue to stand firm. Continue to support each other, to work together, and to face the challenges ahead with the same courage and determination that you have shown so far. The path to victory is long and difficult, but we will walk it together, as one people, united in purpose and in spirit.

Our enemies will not succeed in breaking us. They will not succeed in shaking our faith or in diverting us from our course. We are stronger than they know, more determined than they can imagine, and we will prevail. Together, we will achieve the victory that we so rightfully deserve.

Let us go forward with confidence, with strength, and with the unshakable belief in our ultimate triumph. For Berlin, for Germany, and for the future of our great nation.

When or How?

November 9, 1941

It has only become clear to us during this war how sick post-World War Europe was and what thorough measures were needed, are needed, and will still be needed to restore it to complete health. Just as a harmless flu can sometimes bring out a series of latent illnesses in a person, so too can a seemingly insignificant event cause great upheaval in a continent. Those who understand nothing about politics, that is, about emerging history, believe that the cause of great human catastrophes and transformations of nations is always the same as the trigger. The shots in Sarajevo, for example, triggered World War I but did not cause it. Europe was ripe for it at that time. It had been ripe for it a few years earlier; only those responsible in Germany at the time did not want to see the danger, let things drift, and then were forced to make a decision in a situation they could have had much more favorably earlier but which had now become as unfavorable as possible. If one knows that an implacable enemy is standing opposite, about to fire from the best position, then it is wise to preempt his shot. A national leadership acts irresponsibly if it lets things gradually escalate, refusing to recognize the danger, and then calls for arms when they have already lost their sharpness.

It is therefore understandable that in the course of a historical struggle, where the existence or non-existence of entire peoples is at stake, the actual trigger that set off this struggle increasingly fades from people's minds and becomes a dim memory. How small does the issue in August 1939 appear to us today in light of the gigantic dimensions of this war? The city of Danzig was to return to the Reich, and a corridor through the corridor was to be laid. These more than modest German demands were dismissed by our enemies, even used as a pretext for war, and like an earthquake, the great upheaval traveled across our continent in response to this cynical challenge. All the old, never or only very inadequately solved problems of Europe thus erupted. That Versailles still shackled this continent, that the dying plutodemocracies held socialist Germany, squeezed into too narrow a space with its growing number of children, in a stranglehold, that the young Axis powers were excluded from the world's wealth and raw materials and thus condemned to slow decline and national death, that England, with the help of

its subservient satellites, could disturb and unsettle the continent at any suitable time, that in the East the Soviet Union condemned 170 million people to a miserable existence to build a Bolshevik army that could descend on the continent during the great crisis, that it intended to bring down the last pillars of Europe's economic, social, cultural, and social life through a barbaric people's revolution: these issues were now up for debate.

They are all due for resolution in this war, whether we like it or not. We must march forward according to the law by which we embarked. There is no longer any possibility of evasion for any of us. We cannot postpone or delay anything. Therefore, each individual campaign in this war is, historically speaking, a war in itself, which we would likely have to fight in the future under much more unfavorable circumstances if we did not fight it today. No one will want to believe that Europe's problems would have been solved if Poland had definitively renounced Danzig and a corridor through the corridor in the summer of 1939, or if England and France had accepted the Führer's peace offer after the victorious conclusion of the Polish campaign. Does anyone believe that London would have then kept quiet, or that the Soviet Union would have come to the conviction that it had built its revolutionary armies just for fun? We would have had to set out again in a few years, only with the difference that our opponents, taught by the military experiences of the Polish campaign, would have confronted us with an armament potential that we might not have been able to match.

Fate treats us harshly and inexorably, but it means well for us. It forces us to make decisions that we might not make in the face of apparent enemy leniency, and then undoubtedly would have to face later in a truly deadly threat. The most elementary life problems of our continent have been brought up and brook no delay. Europe must decide whether it wants to live or sink into chaos.

The Reich, Italy, and their allied powers have the unique opportunity to lead the way in the European reorganization. Thus, we face a historically unprecedented possibility on our continent. It is about more than just settling territorial disagreements; it is about everything. Accordingly, the dimensions in which this war is taking place are also immense. It is actually the consolidation of a series of military conflicts that, if not undertaken today, would be due in a few years. We must never forget this despite all the emotional and material burdens that come with this war, as with all wars.

Therefore, more important than the question of when this war will end is the question of how it will end. If we win it, then everything is won: raw material and food independence, living space, the foundation for the social reorganization of our state, and the possibility of national fulfillment for the Axis powers; if we lose it, then everything, and more, would be lost: namely, our national life altogether.

For that is what our opponents are questioning. They may differ in their opinions on how best and most permanently to destroy the Reich and its allies. One advocates the dissolution of our military and economic unity, another for the regional dismemberment of our state structure, a third for birth control and the reduction of our population to 10 million, and a fourth for the sterilization of the entire population under sixty years old; but in one thing, they are all agreed: in the firm will and determination that Germany, if it manages to be defeated once more, must be destroyed, exterminated, and wiped out. We would not face a Versailles that left us even the slightest chance of national rebirth. The more hopeless the military situation becomes for the other side, the more bloodthirsty become the Old Testament-like fantasies of revenge in which they indulge politically. Their slogans may sound seductive to the untrained ear, but behind their humanitarian, hypocritical phrases lurks the naked will to annihilate. The Axis powers are truly fighting for their elemental existence, and the worries and hardships imposed on us all in the war would pale in comparison to the inferno that would await us if we lost it.

There is no point in talking around it. Clarity has never been a cause for weakness but always a cause for strength. If a great national awakener had arisen for the German people in 1917, who had prophesied with the seer's power all the humiliations that would be inflicted on them after the November 1918 capitulation, we probably would not have lost our breath in the last quarter-hour and would have won the war. It took a national-political genius like Adolf Hitler to repair the damage caused by our failure in November 1918 in a twenty-year struggle. And yet, his work often hung by a thread. A repetition cannot happen. The chance the German nation has today is its greatest, but also its last. We must make this clear to ourselves every day and every hour. The soldier must think of this when he goes into battle, the worker must think of this when he goes to work, the farmer must think of this when he wrests the daily bread for his people from the field, the engineer, the scientist, the official, the doctor, the artist must think of this when he

serves the nation in his place. This must be our prayer in the morning and in the evening. It must run like a leitmotif through our entire being and actions.

We can win, and we will win. But it requires a gigantic national effort from the entire people. No one can exclude themselves from this, for it concerns us all. Just as a won war will benefit us all, a lost one would knock us all to the ground. As always in the great moments of our history, our people hold their fate in their own hands. We are the smiths of our destiny, today more than ever. The national goals of the Axis powers are set high. To put an end to the general European confusion, we are to be guides and role models for the other nations. Can we then blame fate for putting us to one last hard test before the final great triumph? Did anyone believe that the historical task of reorganizing a continent would fall into our laps easily and almost undeservedly? History gives nothing away for free; it offers everything only to those who seize and hold it. Those who do not grab and hold on will lose everything.

That is how things stand, and that is how we must see them. We know all too well what heavy sacrifices the war demands of almost everyone. But are the sacrifices made by the defeated nations, even if they now live outside the war, not much greater than ours? Although we bear the brunt of the war effort, we still enjoy the highest standard of living among all European nations. We must accept restrictions in all areas, of course; but they are by no means so great as to be unbearable. We must work like never before. The fateful struggle of our people demands the utmost dedication, tension, and readiness from us. But no matter how hard it may be for the individual, he only needs to look to the side to find someone who has it even harder. War is anything but a pastime for soldiers; it is a hard, bitter, bloody necessity faced by the entire people. Despite our constrained and almost hopeless situation back then, we did not want it; it was forced upon us. Now that it is here and we have put the worst behind us, the nation must be filled with the firm and unwavering determination to end it in such a way that it will, as far as humanly possible, not be repeated. We owe that to ourselves and our future.

So let us go to work and fight and labor until victory is ours! Let us do everything that serves it and brings us closer to it, and refrain from everything that harms it and distances us from it. Let us not ask when it will come; rather, let us ensure that it comes. Then one day the hour will come

when fate bows before us and crowns the nation and those who fought with her with laurel. And the hard and bitter features of our people's face will be touched by the bliss of the great moment that the century awaits.

The Jews are to Blame!

November 16, 1941

The historical guilt of World Jewry for the outbreak and escalation of this war is so well proven that there is no longer any need to discuss it. The Jews wanted their war, and now they have it. But the prophecy made by the Führer in the German Reichstag on January 30, 1939, is also coming true: if international Jewish finance succeeds in plunging nations into another world war, the result will not be the Bolshevization of the Earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.

We are witnessing the fulfillment of this prophecy, and a fate that is harsh but more than deserved is befalling Jewry. Compassion or regret is completely misplaced here. World Jewry has completely misjudged the forces available to it in the instigation of this war and is now undergoing a gradual process of annihilation, which it had intended for us and would mercilessly execute on us if it had the power to do so. It is now perishing according to its own law: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

In this historical confrontation, every Jew is our enemy, regardless of whether he vegetates in a Polish ghetto or still leads his parasitic existence in Berlin or Hamburg, or blows the war trumpet in New York or Washington. All Jews, by birth and race, belong to an international conspiracy against National Socialist Germany. They wish for its defeat and destruction and do everything in their power to contribute to it. That they find few opportunities to do so within the Reich is not because they are loyal here, but exclusively because we have taken the measures we deemed appropriate.

One of these measures is the introduction of the yellow Jewish star, which every Jew must wear visibly. This is to mark him externally, especially so that he can be recognized as a Jew at the slightest attempt to offend the German national community. It is an extraordinarily humane regulation, a kind of hygienic prophylaxis, to prevent the Jew from sneaking into our ranks unnoticed to sow discord.

When the Jews, adorned with their Jewish star, appeared in Berlin's cityscape a few weeks ago, the first impression among the citizens of the Reich capital was one of general astonishment. Very few knew that there were still so many Jews in Berlin. Everyone discovered a seemingly harmless acquaintance in their surroundings or neighborhood who had occasionally attracted attention by grumbling or disparaging but whom no one had taken for a Jew. He had apparently camouflaged himself, practiced mimicry, adapted to the milieu in which he lived, and waited for his moment. Who among us had any idea that the enemy was standing right next to him, a silent or skillfully encouraging listener in conversations on the street, in the subway, in queues in front of cigarette shops? There are Jews who can hardly be recognized by their appearance anymore. They have also adapted in this regard as far as possible. These are the most dangerous. It is characteristic that every measure we take against the Jews is already in English and American newspapers the next day. The Jews still have secret connections to the hostile foreign countries and use them not only for their own purposes but also in all war-important matters of the Reich. The enemy is sitting right among us. What could be more obvious than making him at least outwardly recognizable to every citizen?

In the first days after the introduction of the Jewish star, the sale of Berlin newspapers skyrocketed. Every Jew who had to cross the street bought a newspaper to shamefully cover his mark of Cain with it. When this was forbidden, one occasionally saw Jews parading the streets of Berlin's west in the company of non-Jewish foreigners. These Jewish lackeys should actually also be entitled to a Jewish star. The arguments they bring forward for their provocative behavior are always the same: the Jews are also humans – as if we had ever claimed otherwise, and the same would not apply to robbers, child rapists, thieves, and pimps, without wanting to walk with them on Kurfürstendamm! – their Jew is a decent Jew – every affected Jew had found a foolish and instinctless Goy who considered him decent! – they have known each other for years – as if that were a reason to give the Jew a kind of guard of honor – and so on.

The Jews now find themselves gradually left to their own devices and are now trying to apply a new trick. They know the good-natured German Michel in us, who is always willing to forget all the wrongs done to him for a sentimental tear: suddenly one has the impression that there are only cute little babies among the Berlin Jews, who are supposed to touch with their

childlike helplessness, or frail old women. The Jews send their pity guard forward. They may bring some harmless minds into momentary confusion with this, but not us. We know exactly where we stand with them.

We must win the war just for their sake. If we lost it, the seemingly harmless Jewish respectable men would suddenly turn into ravenous wolves. They would pounce on our people, on our women and children, to carry out an act of revenge on them for which there is no example in history. They did it in Bessarabia and the Baltic states when Bolshevism took hold there; and neither the peoples nor the governments had caused them any harm. We cannot go back in our fight against Jewry – quite apart from the fact that we do not want to. The Jews must be separated from the German national community because they endanger our national unity.

This is an elemental requirement of ethnic, national, and social hygiene. They will never give us peace. They would, if they could, lead one nation after another into war against us. What does the associated suffering of the people matter to them if they can only force the world under their rule of money and blood! The Jews are a parasitic race that, like rotting mold, spreads over the cultures of healthy but instinct-poor peoples. There is only one effective remedy against this: to make a cut and cast it off.

How pitiful, in the face of this world problem that has occupied humanity for millennia, are the stupid, thoughtlessly sentimental arguments of some backward friends of the Jews! They would probably gape with eyes, nose, and mouth if they once saw their dear Jews exercising power. But then it would be too late. And therefore it is the duty of national leadership to ensure, with the means it deems appropriate, that this state never occurs.

There is a difference between humans and humans, just as there is a difference between animals and animals. We know good and evil humans, just as we know good and evil animals. The fact that the Jew still lives among us is no proof that he belongs to us, just as the flea does not become a pet by living in the house.

If Mr. Bramsig or Mrs. Knöterich feel a stir of pity at the sight of an old woman wearing the Jewish star, they should also not forget that a distant nephew of this old woman named Nathan Kaufman sits in New York preparing a plan to sterilize the German population under 60 years old, and

that her distant uncle's son stands as a warmonger behind Mr. Roosevelt under the name Baruch or Morgenthau or Untermayer to incite him into the war, and that, if successful, a brave but ignorant American soldier might shoot the only son of Mr. Bramsig or Mrs. Knöterich, all to the greater glory of Jewry, to which this old woman belongs, no matter how fragile and pitiable she may act.

If we Germans have a fatal flaw in our national character, it is that of too great a forgetfulness. This flaw speaks for our human decency and generosity, but not always for our political insight and prudence. We consider all people as good-natured as we are. The French threatened us in the winter of 1939/40 with the dismemberment of the Reich and that we would have to queue with our families in front of their steaming field kitchens to get a hot meal. Our armies overthrow France in six weeks, and then you see German soldiers on the highways distributing bread and sausage to the starving French women and children and gasoline to the Parisian refugees so that they can return to their capital as quickly as possible to resume their agitation against the Reich.

That is just how we Germans are. Our national virtue is our national flaw. None of us would like to be any different, and where our world-famous Michel-like nature does not cause serious harm, nothing should be said against it. But Klopstock gave us the good advice not to be too just; our enemies do not think nobly enough to see how beautiful our flaw is. Nowhere does this word fit better than in our relationship with the Jews. Here, leniency is not only a weakness but also dereliction of duty and a crime against state security. Because the Jews are only waiting for an opportunity to reward our foolishness with blood and terror. That must never happen. And one of the most effective measures against this is a relentless, cold hardness against the corruptors of our people, against the instigators of this war, against its beneficiaries if we lose it, and therefore necessarily also against its victims if we win it.

Therefore, it should be said once more for the sake of clarity:

1. The Jews are our ruin. They instigated and brought about this war. They want to destroy the German Reich and our people with it. This plan must be foiled.
2. There is no difference between Jews and Jews. Every Jew is a sworn enemy of the German people. If he does not show his enmity towards us, it is

only out of cowardice and cunning, not because he does not harbor it in his heart.
3. Every German soldier who falls in this war goes on the guilt account
4. If someone wears the jewish star, they are marked as an enemy of the people. Anyone who continues to associate with them in private must be considered and treated like a bunny. They deserve the contempt of the entire nation for abandoning it in its darkest hour to align themselves with its enemies.
5. Jews enjoy the protection of foreign countries. There is no need for further proof of their destructive role in our nation.
6. Jews are messengers of the enemy among us. Anyone who joins them is defecting to the enemy in wartime.
7. Jews have no right to portray themselves as equal among us. Wherever they want to speak on the street, in lines in front of stores, or on public transportation, they must be silenced, not just because they are fundamentally wrong, but because they are bunnies and do not have a voice in the community.
8. If Jews try to appeal to your sentimentality, know that it is a manipulation of your forgetfulness; immediately show them that you see through their motives and punish them with contempt.
9. An honorable enemy deserves our magnanimity after defeat. But the bunny is not an honorable enemy; they only pretend to be.
10. Jews are to blame for the war. They do not suffer any injustice from the treatment we give them; they deserve it and more. Dealing conclusively with them is the government's responsibility. No one has the right to act on their own, but everyone has the duty to appreciate the state's measures against the bunnies, to advocate them to everyone, and not to be misled by any tricks or manipulations of the bunnies in their clear understanding of their danger. This is what the security of the state demands from all of us.

The Earthen Colossus

November 23, 1941

The British Prime Minister Winston Churchill is famously close to alcohol. All the more curious are his relations with the truth, with which he has been on a permanent war footing since entering political life. He is among the world's most famous liars, and when he makes a statement, not only do experts in neutral and England-hostile circles but also insiders in British circles exchange knowing glances and the world public can't help but smile knowingly. Everyone knows how much should be added or subtracted depending on the circumstance. Currently, the taxi meter is set so that his figures, unfavorable to England, must be multiplied by three, and those favorable to England must be divided by three.

The multiplier or divisor changes depending on the wartime situation. Recently, when Mr. Churchill was forced to account to the House of Commons for the state of the Battle of the Atlantic, he reported the sinking figures for English tonnage over the last four months at % million GRT; in reality, they exceeded 2 million GRT. If challenged, he can claim that he is still in the early stages of lying to Stalin. The latter managed to report Soviet missing numbers as 378,000, while at the same time, 3,600,000 Bolshevik prisoners were in our hands. Therefore, his multiplier is not three but ten.

It can be seen, therefore, that the other side does not shy away from outright lies, even when we possess perfectly sound and convincing statistical material. Apparently, they no longer value impressing us with their figures. Their aim is merely to create a brief impression in the world public opinion. They no longer have the courage to come out with the whole truth, as they vaguely suspect it could cause a shock in their own public opinion that would be uncontrollable. Thus, their aim is deception, without any regard for us. This is the current state of the Moscow-London-Washington coalition.

Meanwhile, voices in London are increasing, raising the question of how England could possibly still win under the circumstances. Mr. Churchill recently declared, with poorly played pathos in one of his speeches, that if Japan were to conflict with the United States, Britain would expect a

declaration of war within an hour. But everyone knows that is a bluff. With what will England support the USA, the same England that sends more desperate cries for help across the Atlantic every day? Great Britain is currently in such a hopeless situation that only a miracle could save it. Mr. Churchill's predictions have not come true. The Soviet Union has not fulfilled what was expected of it. The Battle of the Atlantic continues relentlessly, with losses that will prove fatal to England in the long run. The threat of a blockade imposed by the Axis powers has been nullified. Even if Roosevelt is chasing the war with seven-league boots, it is still a question whether he will catch up to it; and if so, what fundamental change would that make to England's precarious situation?

Clearly, despite everything, the British government must continue to strive to save face in this desperate situation. The profound change in London's chances of success cannot be determined by comparing yesterday's situation with today's, but at most by comparing the end of June with the present. However, at this point, England's prospects are nil. Let's not even mention the allegedly planned invasion of the European continent, which was supposed to be carried out to relieve the Soviets and which London spoke of just four months ago as the most natural thing in the world. Today, it is dismissed across the Channel as desk strategy, by the same British Prime Minister who not long ago incessantly encouraged his purchasable journalists to propagate it.

When the Leader mocked this empty boasting in his recent Munich speech with bloody sarcasm, the English press hurried to get away from this embarrassing subject and explain that the Leader's speech had not brought anything substantially new and therefore did not deserve a detailed response. Yet, on the night before and on the same day, the British Air Force lost 60 high-value aircraft, including their crews totaling about 250 pilots, in incursions into occupied and Reich territory. During the same 24 hours, we suffered only seven deaths in the civilian population and hardly any significant material damage. The human casualty ratio was thus 1:36; the material losses are not comparable at all. Even though Mr. Churchill diligently tried in the following days to attribute the Royal Air Force's enormous losses to the weather, which, as his intelligence services claimed, had not been so bad in exactly 98 years—because, as they explained, the English had kept precise records of the weather conditions over the Reich for exactly 98 years, for order's sake—if he also allowed the number of

scheduled aircraft to soar from 150 to 2,000 within 72 hours to reduce the loss ratio, it is certain what the American press noted the day after the bloodletting for the British Air Force in the relevant combat actions, namely that the Royal Air Force had lost nearly half of the aircraft deployed.

However one turns it, there is not much left for England other than a bitter aftertaste. They miscalculated in everything. A revolution is nowhere to be found in the Reich or in the occupied areas. The blockade has been rendered ineffective by the German counterblockade. A return to the continent seems entirely out of the question for the English under the circumstances. The so-called Non-Stop Offensive has not achieved a fraction of what was expected of it. American aid has lost its terrors for us. Despite all the prayers of the Archbishop of Canterbury, our Bolshevik ally is shattered in its offensive strength. The psychological breakthrough attempts repeatedly undertaken by London against the Axis powers were doomed to complete ineffectiveness from the outset. British attempts to undermine German morale have led to no effect whatsoever. Again: How does England intend to win at all, or rather, how does it intend not to be defeated?

We are not among those fantasists and illusionists who predict the collapse of the British Empire for tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Good things take time, and what was built up over centuries will not collapse in months. We see the situation quite realistically and know full well that many more blows will be needed to shake the earthen colossus. However, that is not decisive. What seems essential to us is the fact that England no longer has any chance of victory and therefore is already on the path to defeat. When this will practically occur, no one can say. We do not wage war with a stopwatch. It is downright childish when Mr. Churchill daily tries to convince us through his propaganda services that if we had not won by his set deadline, we could not win at all. Certainly, British and US arms industries are running at full capacity; but does England perhaps think that German and allied or European countries ready to assist us are waiting and watching? We cannot see in any way that time is working for London. We know very well what Great Britain can and cannot do, but we also know equally well what we cannot do and, above all, what we can do. We also possess the relevant statistical material to give us a completely coherent overview of the arms potential in us and in our opponents. If Mr. Churchill and his henchmen want to bluff us with figures, we are in no doubt for a moment about which multiplier or divisor we should apply to his figures.

Moreover, recent and more distant history has sufficiently taught us that one must clearly distinguish between statement and fact with the English. What they have chosen to announce or threaten usually remains little after a short time. Their boasts therefore fall flat with us. They do not intimidate us, as Mr. Churchill probably assumes, but merely elicit a smile from us. London cannot deceive us.

We know about the desperate situation in which the British Empire finds itself just as well, if not better, than Mr. Churchill himself.

Only one question remains to be answered: why does he stubbornly and stubbornly adhere to his extraordinarily disastrous position for England? He has spread rumors in recent weeks that Germany has extended feelers for peace. Here, evidently, desire is the father of thought. He must offer his people something to maintain their morale. Even though he bombastically declares that he will never entertain a German peace attempt—which, of course, has not been undertaken anywhere by anyone—he apparently needs at least the remote, even self-invented possibility to alleviate his own inferiority complex. We do not count him among those who possess a personal or political conscience. He is completely unscrupulous and has the skin of a hippopotamus instead of a permeable one. What becomes of the peoples he has seduced and plunged into nameless misery is, according to his whole nature, quite indifferent to him. Also, historical thinking is completely foreign to him, as his speeches repeatedly prove. Anyone who allies himself with Bolshevism to set it as a destroyer against Europe can only be seen as a person fundamentally chaotic and hostile to Europe. That is not his concern either. He sees all the current events that move the world only in relation to his own valuable person. He prepared and incited this war. He is literally his war. If he fails for England, then his person will fail with him, perhaps in a much broader sense than he is willing to admit today. Hence his increasingly emerging attempts lately to shift the blame for the war away from himself. Apparently, in his clear moments, he sees the approaching doom and does not yet want to admit it; and therefore he fights to the last desperation and waits for a miracle.

He will wait in vain. History also has its internal regularity. It can sometimes be delayed but never abolished. Destiny takes its prescribed course. It will not stop at England's gates either. When the hour of its

fulfillment will come, we do not know. Instead of asking about it, we work and fight for it; for it should find us as a nation ready.

Cross-Examination of Mr. Roosevelt

November 30, 1941

On October 28 of this year, more than a month ago, the U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered a radio address apparently aimed at unsettling and panicking the American people, slowly preparing them for the disastrous course of intervention that the American President, contrary to the public opinion of his country, prefers to pursue. This speech differed from all its predecessors mainly in that Roosevelt did not confine himself to the now almost traditional mindless and tedious invectives against the Leader and National Socialist Germany, but raised specific accusations against Reich policy and attempted to substantiate them with allegedly compromising documents in his possession.

Mr. Roosevelt claimed no more and no less than that he had documents in his possession proving that the Axis powers intended to reorganize, i.e., divide, Central and South America by turning five of the 14 countries in this region into subservient states, thus intending to bring the entire Central and South American continent under their rule. Evidence: a secret map in his possession allegedly made by the Reich government.

Furthermore, the American government possessed a second document drafted by the Reich government. It contained the plan to eliminate all existing religions in the world after the war won by Germany, equally the Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish religions; in place of the churches, an international National Socialist church should emerge, the cross should be replaced by the swastika, and God by the Leader. Thus the accusation.

It was clear to us from the outset that Mr. Roosevelt needed this fabricated hoax to inflame domestic public opinion and that he used such heavy artillery because the American people are currently wiser than their government and absolutely want nothing to do with active participation in the European war. How highly Mr. Roosevelt assesses the intelligence of his

own people and what he believes he can impose on them may generally be of little interest to us, and we actually saw no reason to react at all to his clumsy and so entirely unimaginative lies, which bear the stamp of invention openly on their forehead. In this case, however, it was a political forgery that he invented for a specific and, as it seems to us, disastrous purpose; and it also offered us such a convenient and easy opportunity to expose and unmask the perpetrator before the whole world that we did not want to let it slip away from us. It did cost us some moral overcoming to confront the liar and ask him the categorical question of where he got these alleged documents from, where they were currently located, and whether he was willing to make them known to the public.

What we expected promptly occurred. Mr. Roosevelt, the President of a nation of 130 million, flinched. He stated that the authenticity of the documents was beyond doubt; they were in his possession. However, publication was out of the question as they were secret and publication would expose the informant. Furthermore, the disputed map of the division of Central and South America contained pencil notes capable of compromising the source from which it came, and he, Roosevelt, did not want to cause inconvenience to the poor soul who had delivered it to him.

This is the kind of president we also wish for! He is a good soul, and he does not abandon his little scoundrels. Based on his speeches and actions, he would not mind sending hundreds of thousands of U.S. soldiers to the battlefield and possibly sacrificing them to his megalomaniacal conquest plans; but when he thinks about the possibility that a modest informant who dutifully and honestly pursues his honorable profession might suffer harm, it breaks his heart. One can imagine that this Rooseveltian response was not considered sufficient proof of his hair-raising accusations either in the USA or in the world public opinion, and our further probing questions fell on fertile ground. In the press and in our radio broadcasts, we proposed to the U.S. President to publish at least the compromising map of the division of Central and South America and possibly erase or cover the ominous pencil notes, and to at least disclose the wording of the infamous plan according to which we intended to launch a new campaign against all religions of the world after the war, from Jehovah to Confucius to Christ.

Whereupon Mr. Roosevelt turned a deaf ear and sank into profound silence. Only one of his creatures, the Argentine former brothel owner and

trafficker Taborda, who had just paid him a visit, explained that he had secretly been able to take a look at the map; everything was as Mr. Roosevelt had said, but he could not divulge any details; he had given his word of honor.

One can understand that we refused to grant absolute persuasive power to the word of honor of such a shady underworld figure. So we continued to investigate, and as we did not come to any tangible result because the accuser remained stubbornly silent, we tried to lure him out of his protective reserve through massive attacks. However, the usually talkative one suddenly seemed to have lost his tongue. Even under pressure from the U.S. press, which asked him for clarification in one of his infamous "weekly roundtables," he did not utter a word.

Now, on November 1, the Reich government published two formal denials that so slapped Mr. Roosevelt that he had only the choice of either opening his document folder or standing before the whole world as a forger and liar. He chose the latter. The U.S. press highlighted the German denials extensively and urgently demanded clarification. But Mr. Roosevelt took the slaps, discreetly rubbed his cheek, and remained silent. In his speech in Munich, the Leader attacked him again. We made all conceivable suggestions to facilitate the publication of the disputed documents for him; but the U.S. President prefers to accept the accusation of lying and forgery rather than substantiate his absurd accusations. That's how things stand. We do not flatter ourselves to possess any means to make Mr. Roosevelt talk. He currently has every interest in letting the matter fade away.

When he made his accusations, one could, if one wanted to be generous, possibly still attribute good faith to him. After all, it was conceivable that he had fallen for some obscure document hoax and perhaps himself believed that they were genuine documents. This is no longer possible now; because if he had acted bona fide, he would have presented the evidence for his accusations and would naturally have been convicted. The fact that he did not do that is sufficient to clearly establish that he did not fall for a forgery but is directly or indirectly involved in this forgery. And since this ultimately concerns a matter of war or peace, the U.S. people would have every reason to take a closer look at their president and his political practices and to ask him the categorical question of what these documents are about, why Mr. Roosevelt does not publish them, whether he still stands by his speech of October 28, and what he intends to do to cleanse himself of the

accusation of deliberate forgery, which has been circulated throughout the world by the two German denials.

One always feels the need to wash one's hands when one, against one's will, has to deal with the methods of U.S. interventionism. It is all so repulsive and stinking that it makes one nauseous. When one hears the pious drivel of the Jewish-infested world plutocracy on the radio or reads it in the press, and one looks a little behind the scenes, sometimes one feels the whole misery of mankind. That such a thing dares to sit in moral judgment over us, to call upon God and the world as witnesses to the purity of its actions, to incite wars and to send innocent people into the fire under the chant of "Forward, Christian soldiers!" for its dirty money interests, can only fill anyone who still retains a primitive sense of cleanliness with deepest disgust. One would have to become a misanthrope if there were only such people.

Mr. Roosevelt is Churchill's henchman, and he probably calculates that even in the event of England's defeat, there will still be a decent chunk left from the British inheritance for the United States. Therefore, he pursues war and thereby places himself in opposition to the public opinion of his country, which is simply incomprehensible to the observer not democratically educated. But his policy may lead to whatever goals, he too is no longer able to turn the tide of war fortune for England. We are firmly rooted on our continent. If Mr. Roosevelt cannot impress us with his argument that, apart from everything else, we could not attempt an attack on the American continent because it is practically impracticable, then he would undoubtedly have to recognize the validity of this argument if he were to attempt the reverse. And as for the armaments of the United States, firstly, they cannot reach, let alone surpass, those of Europe, and secondly, American material must be transported across the insecure Atlantic to England, while we obtain our material, to the extent that we do not produce it ourselves, via secure railway lines from all countries of Europe.

Even the trees of the United States do not grow to the sky. We know very well how to distinguish between the threats of our opponents, what is fact and what is bluff. We do not underestimate the United States, but we do not overestimate them either. If Mr. Roosevelt were to catch up with war, then he would no longer be chasing after war, but war would undoubtedly be chasing after him, which would undoubtedly be decidedly more unpleasant

for him. Therefore, we await his further machinations with stoic calm. Here too, nothing is as hot as it is cooked.

In the Heart of His People

December 4, 1941

It is the highest honor for a nation to possess great sons and significant men, to faithfully and attentively nurture and manage their legacy, and to bring them glory and thanks on their commemorative days, to which they can rightfully lay claim before history. For in their steep ascent into eternal validity, they become representatives of the people and heralds of its imperishable creative power. From them emanates a radiant light, and the world lives through their work. A nation that forgets its great sons no longer deserves to possess them. By transcending their own national creativity, they symbolize most strongly the intellectual generative power of a people and provide enduring proof across centuries of its perpetual youth and immortality. They are more than princes, kings, and emperors; they embody the majesty of a people. Their work unfolds by God's grace and therefore extends far beyond epochs of a nation's decline and ascent. No one can escape for long the magnetic attraction of their intellectual and artistic heritage. They are the elemental substance of national vitality. They endure and shall never fade away.

If these words befit any of the great sons of our German nation, then they apply to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, whose 150th death anniversary we solemnly observe today and tomorrow in Vienna, on behalf of the entire German people, with deep reverence for his immortal work. Where in our history, on whatever field, has a name soared comet-like as his, enduring with undiminished strength and brilliance over three centuries? With him, one almost gets the impression that a mysterious fate physically withdrew him back into the realm of insubstantial shadows immediately after his death, only to allow his imperishable music to shine even more brightly today as it did then. We do not even know where he was laid to rest. Yet night after night, his melodies resonate through opera houses and concert halls around the world, lifting the hearts of countless people in all lands and on all continents. In trembling joy and wild sorrow, they transport the souls of the fortunate to a better world, comprised only of harmony and well-being.

Already at the hour when he was interred in a pauper's grave in Vienna, he distributed his eternal wealth to humanity. What the high and mighty did wrong to him at that time, his people, from whom he emerged and whose eternal essence he, if unconsciously, so much more strongly brought to life, have since made amends. Let us no longer inquire into the essence of genius: here it lies, pure and spotless, with all its mystical secrets before our eyes. Creative generative power, stemming from the abundance of inner visions, boundless joy of creation, disciplined and restrained by artistic discipline, by energy and diligence, a life in perpetual poverty, yet equally a creation in eternal richness—this is Mozart.

At the mere mention of his name, music springs forth, immortal melodies span their golden arches, one lives, as if by magic, lifted from the world of earthly constraints into the bright, clear, and so refreshing air of his simplicity, the primitiveness of his artistic sensibility, the subtlety of his musical expressions. One hears, sung as if by angelic voices, the jubilation of his choirs, the soft and enchanting song of his violins and cellos, and the full and resonant bass tones of his wind instruments. None of this, in the 150 years since he departed this world, leaving only his music to us, has grown old or even historical. His operas still dominate the schedules of our theaters as if they were written yesterday. His symphonies sound in our concert halls as fresh as on their first day, and one is always tempted to confirm his authorship again through the printed program. His folk songs are sung today as they were then by our youth, and just as the greatest musical genius ever to walk the earth, a traveling singer could have written them. Where has any nation ever bowed before such divine grace?

One might ask whether a state ceremony, commemorating him on the 150th anniversary of his death, can endure against the vast events of our time. Our hearts tell us that we may affirm this question. For we need not elevate him from the dust of oblivion. His music resonates nightly across our homeland and frontlines. It has become ours, passing into the possession of the broadest masses of our people, stronger than any other artistic work of the past and present.

Perhaps this is one reason why we feel no contradiction between the resounding world in which he lived and worked and the harsh and clamorous world in which we live and which we seek to transform from chaos into discipline and order. One is our fate, the other our longing. One was imposed

upon us, the other is our secret desire and yearning. It is the world of fulfillment, the world of harmony and eternal beauty. If art's task is to uplift the hearts of troubled people and transport them to a better world, if it is to show us in a life full of hardships and contradictions the ideal of most blissful perfection or at least allow us to glimpse it, then how great is the artistry of this genius! One would need to invent a new language to do justice to it with words.

How proud we can all be in the thought that this name is ours! Our nationality bore him, and our nationality still carries him today. It is his world in which we live, and it was our world in which he lived. How secure we feel in the simple domesticity of the small apartment where he was born in Salzburg! With what proud, almost familial interest, we follow his path of ascent, accompany him on his journeys to Paris, London, and Italy, see him already at thirteen as a member of the music academy in Bologna, discover him at fourteen as the archbishop's concertmaster in Salzburg, suffer with him in his unsuccessful struggle in Mannheim and Paris, relocate with him in 1779 to Salzburg and in 1781 to Vienna, where ten years later, on a cold and inhospitable December 5th, he closed his eyes, blessed on earth to behold eternity forever.

What artistic creation is enclosed in these concise dates! What unimaginable musical concentration enables this youthful genius to produce masterpieces in just ten years, seemingly inspired effortlessly and tirelessly! 40 symphonies, 31 serenades, 25 piano concertos, 8 violin concertos, 26 string quartets, 42 violin sonatas, and in addition a wealth of vocal and instrumental works flow from his pen alongside his operas, which still decisively determine the repertoire of our theaters. It is as if a god sat behind him, urging his hand as the end drew near.

If anyone, then his work embodies the saying that being German means being clear. Mozart unites in himself the finest aspects of the German character. As master of the most refined musical form, he does not limit himself to writing only for privileged classes and connoisseurs of artistic music; he is a popular artist in the best sense of the word. Who today knows, for example, that the melody for the song "Üb immer Treu und Redlichkeit" ("Practice Always Loyalty and Honesty") stems from him? Its popular spirit lives in his entire music. Many of his arias have passed into the full possession of our people.

Mozart's work falls into a time of political and economic turmoil in the empire. At that time, artists generally lived far from state care and sympathy. As high as he might have been honored in his life, he ended almost unknown, only to enter eternal life through his art.

Today, the German people bow before his genius, and with them, the whole world. His universal presence represents the culture of the West in a unique scope. He belongs to us, but he also belongs to the world.

If today, on the eve of his 150th death anniversary, I speak as the spokesperson of the German people, I speak also in the name of cultural humanity. As a German, he is at home everywhere, and his melodies will sing and sound as long as the light of the world shines.

There is nothing more beautiful on earth than to feel the divine in the work of a gifted person. With Mozart, this highest enjoyment is bestowed upon us in the most lavish abundance. To express to him today our deep connection and gratitude flowing from all chambers of our heart is not only an official duty but a human joy and satisfaction. He belongs to us and will belong to us forever.

When tomorrow, over the city of Vienna, where he devoted his best years, the bells toll at his hour of death, the entire musical world will be with him. Only a few accompanied him when he was laid to rest in pouring rain. But he left behind more than what was laid to rest in the bosom of mother earth here: an immortal work that will endure through the ages. His physical presence is gone, no one knows where his bones lie bleaching; but his music lives on and will continue to live because it has found its safest place, where the sanctuaries of a nation can be preserved: in the heart of his people.

A Necessary Clarification

December 7, 1941

The political and military conduct of the English suffers from a series of traditional prejudices and misconceptions stemming from the mentality of the World War. It is apparent until now that they have not grasped the fact that our Germany is an entirely new Germany, which cannot be compared to that of 1914, 1918, 1923, or 1932. If the first prerequisite for victory is the absolute knowledge of the opponent, their intentions, and capabilities, then England will lose the war precisely because it does not know the National Socialist Reich and thus completely misjudges it. It has a completely confused, not to say bizarre, image of its leading men. It does not understand in any way the current intellectual condition of the German people. It imagines the German soldier approximately as he was caricatured in the Munich joke sheets of 1912. And all British conduct of war and the hope of the English people and its government for victory are based on all these prejudices. In London, it is of course well known that they cannot militarily defeat us. But the average Englishman argues that they could not do so in 1918 either, and yet one day the miracle happened that the Reich collapsed because the German people defeated themselves.

From this historical analogy also comes the thesis repeatedly put forward by the English that the British people are more resilient than we are. They try to substantiate this through all possible and impossible arguments. They explain that the German people can win brilliant victories, it is brave and impetuous in attack, it also knows how to make sacrifices for military success; but when it comes to standing firm and persevering, showing hardness and inflexibility of political character, being tough and enduring, keeping a stiff upper lip and not wavering in the storm of time, then it fails. In this respect, the English are superior to us, and therefore, despite all our successful campaigns, they would ultimately prevail, because that is what matters in the hour of decision.

It cannot be doubted that by our behavior in November 1918, we gave the English a certain justification for these misjudgments about us. As shameful as it may sound, we were not morally prepared at that time when

everything was at stake and the famous last quarter of an hour arrived. If it had been different, this war could possibly have been avoided altogether. So if it lasts longer than historically necessary under the circumstances, until the point where England realizes that it can achieve nothing more in this field, it is due to our weakness at that time. Nevertheless, the proof of the English is mistaken. And that is because:

Back then, it was not the German people, but its leadership that failed. Phenomena observed in our public life during the war also occurred in France, and to a much greater extent; only with the difference that the French Prime Minister was called Clemenceau and the German Chancellor was a weakling named Bethmann-Hollweg. The forces of defeatism could have had such devastating effects in the Reich at that time only because no one opposed them. If the people had been clearly and honestly told what it was all about and where it would ultimately lead, they would have easily sweated out the germs of disease. The front remained completely intact until the very end, and the majority of the homeland was firmly committed to the cause of the war. But if the government not only failed to combat defeatism but also adopted its arguments, gradually filling the entire political atmosphere with the pungent smell of false cleverness that seeks to evade danger, can one blame a people too much if it allowed itself to be infected by the cheap and convenient slogans of its opponents and gradually slipped into a mood of resignation?

We had to pay dearly for our mistake of 1918, 1919, and the years that followed. If the November Revolution had any good at all, it was only that it eliminated the entire incompetent clique of the Reich leadership at that time, albeit initially bringing even more inadequate elements to power, but thus giving us the opportunity to make a clean sweep through a national revolution and start anew from scratch.

But what does all this have to do with the moral resilience of the German people? That it remained unbroken is sufficiently proven by the fact that we experienced a national rebirth in just under 15 years that is unparalleled in history. If the English accuse us of lacking endurance and base their chance of victory on this misconception, one only needs to point out to them that it was the Prussian people who held out against all of Europe from 1756 to 1763. However, their king was not Erzberger but Friedrich. And that the other side also fought against Prussia for seven years, albeit in

vain, was solely because Austria stood in their camp as the driving force, led by a woman of the rank of Maria Theresia. Perhaps Mr. Churchill will duly note that meanwhile, out of Prussia and Austria, very much against his will, a German Reich has emerged, and that there is still more to come, and that the enormous strength that Germanism has always embodied in European history is no longer consumed as before by the rubbing of hands of the English gentlemen but is being set to unite once and for all to put a stop to the impudent interference attempts of a small but brutal and unscrupulous island people in the affairs of our continent.

The German people even held out for thirty years in war once. During this time, its population decreased from 19 million to a barely viable core and almost froze in blood and tears without collapsing morally. Unfortunately, this war did not lead to the final consolidation of its then almost imperial existence over much of Europe but to the question of whether communion should be served in simple or double form. So we Germans have no reason to lament the lack of tenacity and steadfastness in our history but at most the lack of clarity of national objectives and political intelligence. But that is no longer the case today; and precisely for this reason, the lords and plutocrats are so annoyed with the current German leadership and shower it with buckets of venom, hatred, and slander. Of course, they would prefer a congregation of stupidity and weakness at the helm of the Reich. They might even win a second victory, although they do not deserve it today any more than they did in 1918.

We feel united with every German at the front and at home in the feeling of shame that we have to defend ourselves against the allegation that we would fall for the old and long-since-expired British tricks of deception once again. For example, is there even a single Berliner whose blood does not boil when the English claim that Londoners, if it came to it, would morally withstand every air raid while the citizens of the capital of the Reich would collapse under them? That would still have to be proven. Even if we do not know the Londoners exactly, we do know the Berliners. And what applies to the capital of the Reich applies to every other German city, both in the city and in the countryside, and at the front as well as at home. We can only dismissively wave off the English propaganda liars with their seduction skills. Nor do we listen to their daily radio lies not because we are afraid of them—how could we fear the Jews who write them and with whom we struggled for fourteen years when they still blessed the Reich with their

presence and we were only a small opposition sect!—nor because we have something to hide or a bad conscience—why would we?—but solely because we have no time and no desire to follow up the British lies from early morning until late evening with denials.

When a few weeks ago we made it clear to the German people that this war offered us the greatest opportunity in our history and therefore it depends more on how it ends than when it ends, it was said in London that this was a sign that a revolution was brewing in Germany, our statements were due to pressure from the generals, we had reached out for peace through Turkey, and what other such nonsense there was. Is there anyone who does not admit that it would misuse the intelligence of our people to react to this at all?

A very clever Jew on the other side even dared to ask whether we believed in the German victory. It would be giving him too much honor if we wanted to answer him that we believed in the German victory when his cousin was still police chief of Berlin, his family in the capital had thirty daily newspapers with millions of copies, while we had only a weekly magazine with 2,000 subscribers, when Judaism still unrestrictedly controlled public opinion, parliament, the stock exchange, administration, government, film, and theater, and we sat with modest twelve seats in the Reichstag and did not know from one day to the next how to survive. One had to believe in victory. Today we have it within our grasp. Today we have the strongest armed forces in the world. The most gigantic armament machinery that history has ever seen forges its weapons, a whole continent with all its inexhaustible sources of aid stands by our side or works for us. Yes, we not only believe in victory, it is certain for us! We were ready to lay our hand in the fire for it.

That we assess the situation realistically, that we do not intoxicate ourselves with vague illusions, that we work and fight instead of distributing premature laurels and cheering, is that a sign of weakness or rather a sign of strength and sovereign security? London relies on time working for England. We rely on us working for time, and therefore time working for us. In the end, it will prove who was right. And as for the endurance in this war, the German people have something to catch up on since 1918. The English would experience their blue wonder if it came to that.

The Great Chance

December 14, 1941

There are phases in a significant historical development that sometimes appear entirely incomprehensible to the historically minded person. The eternal rise and fall of nations' fates indeed have, when viewed from a long perspective, a profound inner meaning, but it only reveals itself to those who have the gift to distinguish the essential from the non-essential, to connect yesterday with today and tomorrow in an organic relationship, and to intuitively grasp an epoch in its overall progression. For instance, anyone who tries to consider World War I with its extraordinarily tragic outcome for Germany in isolation, without its prelude and aftermath, would completely despair of the meaning and inner logic of history. At that time, the weaker triumphed over the stronger, and Europe was set back by a quarter-century. However, if one relates World War I naturally to its preceding and subsequent periods and sees the development from around 1900 to the present as a unified whole, then nonsense turns into sense, and one discovers in all the ups and downs of this time the mysterious workings of a sometimes perhaps inexplicable, but all the more powerful fate.

This becomes even more evident when considering historical epochs that are more distant from us. They all have an inner law that does not operate according to our normal bourgeois concepts but follows a higher historical ethic. Fate is always just. It sometimes takes detours to reach its goal, but it never misses the target. It bestows its favor on the peoples who deserve it and denies it to those who have become unworthy of it. The opportunity is a divine sign in both the life of an individual and the life of nations. Therefore, there is no greater historical sin than to refuse it. This sin cannot be forgiven. Those who do not understand and seize the opportunity lose it, and it never returns.

Just as nothing is given to an individual, nothing is given to a nation. All happiness and success, every triumph and victory, is only offered, and it is always a time-limited offer. The very great historical opportunities are only rarely given. But when they arise, that is, when they result from a fateful conjunction, intensified by bold human action, those blessed moments when

the goddess of history herself descends to offer herself to the nations, then the national leadership has the compelling necessity to act. Then the saying "strike while the iron is hot" applies. When the sparks no longer fly, it has also lost its forming power.

It is perhaps the greatest tragedy of our history that the German people did not recognize or exploit the decisive historical opportunities offered to them at various times. We were too modest and hesitant, often had too much distrust in our own abilities, thought too long, and when we finally made a decision, the opportunity had usually already passed. We are only beginning to become a political people. Earlier, Germans only engaged in politics. Our enemies were therefore not entirely wrong, at least regarding our past, when they referred to us with a touch of irony as the people of poets and thinkers. And yet no nation has a greater natural right to possess an empire than we do based on its natural qualities. Germans are known everywhere for being diligent and inventive, frugal and tough, intelligent and hardworking, systematic and prudent. What other nation surpasses us in bravery, self-sacrifice, and willingness to give, in the breadth of projection and generosity of organization? And yet, we often lacked what is crucial in decisive moments: political instinct. We stood several times already before the great goal; but when it was within our grasp, we turned back.

And yet today it seems as if fate is showing mercy to us and wants to repay us all at once for the sacrifices and idealism we have shown in our historical past. The great opportunity is here. It is unique. The German nation will never find a situation as favorable as today's again. After the severe collapse of 1918, it has gone through the purgatory of the policy of fulfillment and thereby through a high school of terrible political experiences. Then it experienced the great purification of a national revolution, which welded us into a community and made us aware of our strength. Surrounded by the suspicion of our enemies, constantly threatened in our national existence, we passed through the breath-taking risk zone of our rearmament, which initially progressed from month to month, then from week to week, and finally from day to day at an ever-accelerating pace. Armies were conjured from the earth in the truest sense of the word. The Ostmark returned to the Reich. The Sudetenland joined. The wedge that our enemies had driven into our flesh with the artificial state of Czechoslovakia was removed. We were forced into the great trial only after we had done everything humanly possible to be ready for it.

In breathtaking campaigns, Poland was crushed, freeing our eastern flank. The daring leap to Norway succeeded and took away England's opportunity to attack us at our most vulnerable point, as planned in London. The thrust to the west brought France to its knees in six weeks, depriving London of its traditional mainland sword and driving the last British divisions from the continent. The powder keg in the southeast, where British plutocrats constantly roamed with a burning fuse, lost its explosive power. The offensive threat to the Reich from Bolshevism was crushed in gigantic battles. Today we stand in the hard but also the final phase of this earth-shaking struggle, promising the ultimate success with certainty. Once we have victoriously overcome this — and what could possibly be argued against our success? — we will march with our allies at the forefront of a continent that serves exclusively our war efforts. Where will England attack us then, and what means does it possess to repel our assault?

It is only because we experience this grand development day by day in its individual phases that we sometimes lose sight of its dimensions. It will undoubtedly later be considered the greatest opportunity ever offered to the German people in our history. Therefore, in the consistent exploitation of this opportunity, we are not only responsible to ourselves; we carry the legacy of countless struggles and blood sacrifices of preceding German generations who did not get their chance but have a right to see their heroic and brave efforts finally rewarded. We are also bound by our obligation to future generations, who can demand of us that we seize an opportunity that, given the circumstances, cannot be offered to them again. Harsh as it may sound, it is so: just as we today only see the outcomes of past German wars and scarcely account for the blood sacrifices made by the affected generations, so will future generations not ask what burdens we bore in the present war, but only what we achieved with it.

And that is as it should be. History not only inflicts wounds, it also heals them. Every generation has to bear only the fate of its time. But it is always the result of the success or failure of the preceding generations. We need only imagine what suffering and sorrow our people have endured in their history, often without reaching the goal, to bear the comparatively minor burdens of this war with dignity and pride. It surely sometimes hits individuals hard, and it is only a conditional consolation for a mother who has lost her son or a woman who has lost her husband that the blood

sacrifices of this war are not yet 10 percent of those of the world war, but we consumed ourselves in frozen fronts back then and lost everything in the end, while today we achieve one great goal after another, with the certainty that the effort will be justified in an unprecedented victory.

Every German should be deeply outraged that the English plutocrats believe they can induce us through their mendacious propaganda to betray ourselves and reject the great opportunity that fate offers us with a gracious hand. They probably wouldn't even think of trying if they hadn't succeeded once before. They consider us so foolish that we might fall for the same trick a second time. But while it may be the same men in London attempting this trick, it is not the same men in Berlin they are trying to deceive. We have anticipated this trick from the start of the war; indeed, when we predicted it, it had already lost its effectiveness. We are still a nation of poets and thinkers, but we have also learned that in history, nothing is achieved with dreams and fantasies — our own past is an extremely instructive example of this — that one must be sober and wise, that politics and warfare require constant vigilance, that a state leadership must continually scan the horizon for opportunities; and when one is discovered, one must seize it and not hesitate and wait.

Today we must do more than others because we have so much to catch up on. It is our national duty to diligently attend to daily tasks and not postpone anything necessary for victory. Our German unity is of recent date. We still bear the scars of our former party-political divisions; we must carefully and jealously guard against them reopening and bleeding again. Regardless of which problems one or another considers ripe or in need of solution, there is currently only one cardinal problem for us: victory!

Everything that serves victory is essential to the war; everything that harms or delays it is a crime against the nation's security. An action or attitude praised by London already bears the stamp of national unreliability on its forehead. England also wants to win. It welcomes everything that harms our victory and condemns everything that benefits it. Now that the German nation has awakened from its stupor, stretches in the full strength of its youth, and stands proudly and imperiously before the world to assert and claim its rights, London knows that the decision is at hand. The great question has been posed. It demands an answer, and from us alone.

Let us, therefore, take up our heavy but also great fate with pride. Let us cling to the great opportunity that history itself offers us and not let it go until it blesses us.

Changed Worldview

December 21, 1941

It is astonishing and hardly comprehensible how quickly the general worldview can undergo a complete transformation. Modern warfare speaks its own language, and concepts and ideas that were considered unassailable in military theory and practice just twenty years ago are now entirely outdated and antiquated. If one compares the world situation from Sunday, December 7, the day Japan gave President Roosevelt a fitting response to his brazen provocations and insolent affronts, with that of today, one will undoubtedly have to acknowledge that the position of the Axis powers has since strengthened in a way that even military and political experts would have declared completely unlikely a few days earlier.

All the arrogant forecasts made in the USA and England have been thrown into disarray. In Washington, the patience and tireless persistence of the Japanese in negotiations were apparently mistaken for weakness, and then they found themselves so overwhelmed by the sudden surge of the Japanese military's offensive spirit that they have yet to find a plausible explanation for it. The national enthusiasm and patriotic capability for dedication and sacrifice of a soldierly people have once again celebrated brilliant triumphs, and the democratic-liberal conjurers are already standing before the ruins of a large part of their vague hopes and wishful images.

This development does not come as a surprise to us. We have never assessed Japan, its military, its people, and its leadership differently from how they present and prove themselves today. Japan suffers from the same unresolved problems as we and Italy. Its growing population can no longer be expanded and developed on its own soil. The country struggles with increasing shortages of raw materials and economic opportunities. Its grand plan for a new order in the Far East is essentially imposed on it by nature and geographical and territorial circumstances. It must obey the law that hangs over it like a fate if it does not want to abdicate as a great power.

It is clear that Mr. Roosevelt and his plutocratic clique have never understood this and probably never will. They find themselves in the role of a

greedy capitalist regarding Japan's national demands, who would rather set his factory on fire than give the worker what he cannot do without to maintain his most basic existence. For the owner, such a concession would not mean a sacrifice at all. He remains unyielding on principle. In such developments between great powers, there are points where negotiations can no longer advance a step, and the decision must be entrusted to arms.

It fits well with the well-known narrow-minded arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon warmonger and incendiary clique that they completely misjudged Japan's military capabilities and possibilities and thus had to pay a tuition fee for this mistake right at the beginning, the amount of which is truly alarming. Washington and London are now likely to rethink the hopes they had tied to America's entry into the war just two weeks ago. In any case, the public statements of both Roosevelt and Churchill show extensive disappointment, and the criticism that their recklessly foolish actions find even in their own press, despite the ruthless censorship, shows that this disappointment is also shared by public opinion in their countries.

We are far from underestimating the possibilities left to England and the United States for a planless continuation of the war for a long time. We have often pointed out that colossi of the extent of these two empires cannot be brought down in days, weeks, or even months. We must prepare ourselves for a tough and bitter struggle, and in this fight, there will certainly be an eternal ups and downs, where setbacks may sometimes be unavoidable for us as well. But that is not decisive. What is decisive is the fact that the far better chances lie on the side of the Axis powers and that their leaders will not hesitate to exploit them.

The military potential at their disposal is so vast that it is beyond measure. A comparison with the third year of World War I is entirely inappropriate here. If we held out for over four years back then and the loss of victory was only due to a lack of leadership, it must not be overlooked today that Germany was better prepared for war in 1939 than in 1914, that problems that bled us dry back then, like the elimination of France as England's traditional mainland sword on the continent, have already been solved, that the Balkans no longer pose a threat to us, that the Soviet Union has lost its offensive striking power as a war-deciding factor, and that two great powers, Italy and Japan, which were against us in World War I, are now fighting on our side, doubling their economic and military strength in our

favor, not to mention the countless imponderables of a psychological and moral nature that we can now register in our favor, completely changing the current balance of power compared to World War I.

Today, we hardly need to invoke our belief in our national invincibility to confidently and unalterably predict our coming victory. It results from the real facts. They speak unequivocally for us. Our calculation is correct, and if a counter-calculation is made from the other side, it only works because it is based on false entries.

This is increasingly acknowledged even in neutral foreign countries. We do not consider the increased difficulties of our civilian life, which have inevitably arisen with the longer duration of the war, as decisive for the war decision or only to a limited extent. They exist to about the same extent on both sides. If our potatoes come to market later than usual due to a long winter, they do not grow any faster in England just because plutocrats instead of National Socialists govern there, and if they only arrive in the big cities and industrial areas in spurts in autumn and winter due to the difficult transport situation, it is no different on the other side. There are also queues in front of tobacco shops in England, and the fact that certain food and luxury items are available for purchase in the free market there is solely due to the high price, which excludes the broad masses from consumption and thus can only fake a degree of national wealth for the richer classes that does not really exist.

However, what is important in assessing this situation is the fact that we have not factored this aspect into our calculation of success chances at all, while England builds its entire hope of victory on it. Sometimes, even among us, the mistake is made of seeing the difficulties, especially of civilian life, only on our side and tacitly assuming that the other side is in the fortunate position of living as if at peace.

This is not the case at all. The insular position of England is rather a disadvantage than an advantage in the current type of warfare. Militarily speaking, an invasion of Great Britain is naturally difficult, but an invasion of England in Europe is certainly just as difficult, probably even more so. In our supply economy, we have the advantage of secure railway lines; England must bring everything it does not produce itself over the uncertain sea route. Its fleet is more vulnerable than ever today, as has been sufficiently proven

by the heavy blows it had to take in the Pacific. We have become practically unassailable for England, and its retreat to the periphery of warfare, even if successful, cannot change the overall situation significantly. The British Isles are trapped in their own entanglement. The war will be over when London realizes this. Until that happens, Great Britain must be convinced through periodically repeated blows, one of which will eventually be fatal.

The Japanese example has once again shown the immense power in the national dynamism of a people. One can read the reports of the heroic deeds of the death-defying Japanese naval pilots only with the deepest emotion. Japan knows, just as Germany and Italy do, that it is fighting for its future, indeed, for its life. The cooperation of these three great powers, which despite their history spanning several millennia, have preserved a vital youthfulness, is a natural one, under the inexorable compulsion of a relentless historical logic. They are exploiting the greatest opportunity of their national existence in this war. Their leaders and their peoples know exactly what is at stake this time. They were indeed forced into this war, but they are practically not conducting it in defense, but in continuous offensives. Their young men at the fronts burn with ambition to solve their country's national life problems with weapons. They have never had an opportunity like this to demonstrate their courage, their energy, and their masculine readiness for action. They feel affronted and humiliated by the spokesmen of plutocracy to a degree that forbids any thought of concession from the outset. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have no idea what they have taken on. If they thought of a charming war, so to speak, a walk to Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, where the misled peoples of the countries they attacked would help them overthrow their governments, which are a thorn in the side of the plutocracies, they have completely overlooked the fact that these governments only say and do what their peoples want, indeed demand and require from them.

There is no greater misconception than to construct an opposition between them and their peoples. World War I was for the oppressed nations, no matter on which side they fought, only a dim premonition of things to come. This war, on the other hand, is being consciously fought by the affected nations. It is not only a battle for their national honor or prestige, expanded to gigantic proportions, but it is also a fight for the most elementary essentials of life, for space, work, bread, for a dignified existence, for the end of perpetual crises, for a radical resolution of the growing problems of their countries, which they can no longer master within their

own borders. The Axis powers are forced to defend their lives. They will do so in a way that knows no sentimental considerations. They go all out. Humanitarian phrases will not overcome this onslaught. Democratic conjuring tricks are entirely ineffective; here, one must fight.

A worldview determined by such factors is subject to constant and, as the events of the past two weeks have shown, drastic changes. They require the highest vigilance and readiness from all involved. Leadership and people must constantly be on the lookout to strike when an opportunity arises. One day, the hour will come when the enemy begins to falter. When that will be, no one knows; but that it will come, we all know.

Call for Community Help

December 21, 1941

Today, I address you to provide our soldiers with additional support from the German homeland as a gift from all German comrades to the front!

Our soldiers have achieved victories of world-historical significance in the years 1939, 1940, and especially in the just-ending year 1941. They carried their glory-covered flags through half of Europe. Nowhere could an enemy resist them for long. On June 22, their unique advance against the threatening attacks of the Soviet Union began. The battles of annihilation, in which the millions of Bolshevik armies assembled against the Reich were shattered, are already recorded as the highest soldierly deeds of glory in the annals of world history.

Now winter has come; our soldiers are stationed in Norway and Holland, in Belgium, France, in the Balkans, and North Africa, and also in the East on a vast front from the White Sea to the Black Sea, from Finland to Crimea. They alone secure our homeland and nation; it is thanks to them that our people can celebrate even a modest but still secure Christmas this year.

Countless Germans at home will become acutely aware of the indelible gratitude they owe our soldiers, especially those at the fighting front. Many will have thought beyond mere words and outward expressions of this gratitude, considering how they might practically express their thanks to a soldier, whether a relative or one of the many unknowns at the front. Gifts are scarce today. Our factories have produced weapons, ammunition, and the most urgently needed items for the Wehrmacht and the homeland over the past year. The field post is overloaded, making shipments to the front possible only to a limited extent. As a result, tokens of affection from the homeland for our soldiers cannot reach the front, especially those far in the East, to the same extent this Christmas as in the previous two years in the West.

However, there is an opportunity for everyone to bring a visible and tangible token of gratitude to this fighting front, one that none of us should or will deny:

The winter has arrived early and with unusual severity in the wide areas of the East, Southeast, Norway, and Finland this year. The relevant Wehrmacht authorities have done everything to adequately equip the front for winter. They are — as we all know — deploying the last available transport options to deliver the immense number of winter equipment items to our soldiers at the front. But despite all these preparations made with the highest expenditure of material and effort, our soldiers still need many winter supplies. Our Wehrmacht at the front today comprises so many millions of men that it is very difficult to provide them from a single source with everything they need in all areas. Hence, the homeland deserves no rest if even a single soldier, especially in the East, Southeast, Norway, or high Finland, were exposed to the harsh weather without adequate winter gear.

I know that during the last collection of textile fibers, the German population gave up everything it could spare in view of the strained textile supply situation. However, there are still countless winter equipment items for the civilian population at home that, while not easily dispensed with, are currently more urgently needed at the front than at home. We at home must also submit to great restrictions in the third year of the war. But it would not be fair to compare these sacrifices even remotely with those our front must make, especially in this war winter. At home, everyone has a roof over their head and a bed to sleep in. Food, although restricted, is still sufficient compared to almost all other European countries. The compatriots at home can also find relaxation through newspapers, theaters, concerts, movies, or radio, which they urgently need due to the extraordinarily high demands on their strength in the work process.

Almost all of this is lacking for our soldiers on the Eastern Front. This cannot be changed. However, the homeland can help in one way: it can help provide its sons and fathers with protection against the harsh winter weather! As long as there is even a single usable winter item at home, it must go to the front. I know that individuals at home can often only give up these items with difficulty. They are currently unable to replace them. But our soldiers need them a thousand times more urgently than we do. It would be too much to speak of sacrifices in this context. What the homeland has

endured so far in the war are only inconveniences and small renunciations compared to what our front has been taking on daily and hourly for over two years. Thanks to their efforts, the Reich still enjoys a secure life. But the front must risk health and life. It stands today on guard almost all over Europe for all of Europe — and thus especially for us. Just as it continued its victorious march in scorching heat or torrential rain through dust or mud in superhuman efforts in the summer, it now stands ready on the winter defensive fronts in snow, ice, rain, frost, and cold to protect the homeland. It must endure the harsh weather in every season, while we at home can almost completely escape it. The front can hardly protect itself against the heat; only the entire homeland can help it against the cold. Who at home would refuse this call for community assistance?

The front especially needs the following items, which we must provide:

Overshoes, preferably lined or fur-lined, warm woolens, socks, stockings, vests, undershirts or sweaters, and warm, especially woolen underwear, undershirts, underpants, body belts, chest and lung protectors, all kinds of headgear, ear protectors, wrist and knee warmers, fur in the broadest sense, fur jackets and vests, fur boots of all kinds and sizes, blankets, especially wool and fur blankets, thick warm gloves, particularly fur-lined leather gloves or knitted gloves and wool mittens. Everything made of fur is urgently needed at the front and is therefore doubly welcome. Additionally, quilted or lined undershirts, wool scarves, and neckerchiefs are desired — anything that helps combat the winter cold, which has set in so early this year.

The party, with all its subsidiary and subordinate organizations, is instructed to be ready to collect all these urgently needed winter items for the front. The collection begins on December 27, 1941, and ends on the evening of January 4, 1942, and will be conducted by the party from house to house and apartment to apartment. Every compatriot can greatly facilitate the collectors' work and help speed up the collection process by personally delivering the winter items they wish to donate to the designated collection points, which will be announced in the local newspapers. Arrangements have been made with the relevant Wehrmacht and transportation authorities to ensure that the collected items are transported and brought to the front as quickly as possible. They should benefit our fighting soldiers as soon as possible.

Despite all the air raids, Germany has so far noticed relatively little of the war, and yet it is a war that decides the existence or non-existence of the German nation. Our soldiers fighting at the front have relieved us of most of the burden of this war through their heroic efforts. They have had to bear double what we have been spared. I believe the homeland now, at the third war Christmas, has the urgent desire to express its gratitude to the front, which silently fulfills its duty, in a more visible way than with words alone.

The festival known worldwide as the most German is just around the corner. For the third time in this war, our soldiers are denied the return home for Christmas, or even a significant leave. What could be more fitting than for the homeland to show its solidarity with the front through the most generous national socialist community assistance and to thank our soldiers with a moved heart?

Therefore, I want to call the collection, starting on December 27, 1941, and ending on January 4, 1942, the Christmas gift of the German people to the Eastern Front. Certainly, there is no one in the entire country who excludes themselves from this Christmas gift for our soldiers.

A few weeks ago, I called for a record collection for our soldiers. This call found a response among the German people that far overshadowed the expectations of even the most daring optimists. The German people at home have once again behaved exemplarily with this donation. Therefore, I am also convinced this time that everyone at home will give everything they can in the collection of winter items for our front, not only what they can spare but also what they themselves still need, which our soldiers can claim more than they can.

If the last collections of the Winter Relief Work and all our other social institutions, especially the collections intended for the front, have produced such excellent results, it is conclusive proof that the homeland is aware of the greatness of this time. The German people have been educated by National Socialism to think in terms of community. Where is this community thinking more appropriate than in the relationship between the homeland and the front?

We cannot yet give back the homeland to our soldiers. That will only happen when we have victory and peace in our hands. Then our soldiers should return to a homeland where they can see at every step how it belongs to them and how it appreciates their sacrifice and heroism. But even today, we can bring a piece of home back to our soldiers. But words alone are not enough for a front that lives only in its deeds.

So let us respond to them with deeds! The Christmas season is best suited for this. So, when the collectors knock on your doors in the week after Christmas, have the winter items ready for our soldiers. Greet the collectors kindly and courteously, for they are messengers of our fighting soldiers. Give them whatever you can! In doing so, you help the front to achieve victory.

The Führer himself has commissioned me to make this appeal to the homeland. He has sent a foreword with this collection to show the homeland the high expectations he has for its results. Let us show him the response his appeal finds in the hearts of all Germans.

Christmas 1941

Radio Address to the German People on Christmas Eve

December 24, 1941

As I address the German people over the radio on this Christmas Eve, I do so primarily as the spokesperson for the homeland to our soldiers and beyond to all those who must spend this wartime Christmas 1941 far from home somewhere in the wide world. I know that countless people will envy me for being able to speak tonight to millions of Germans scattered across all countries and continents. How many men and women, how many fathers, sons, and daughters would want to be in my place right now to send a friendly greeting to their son, husband, brother, or father! How many soldiers and expatriate Germans would wish to step in front of the microphone instead of me to tell their mother, father, children, or siblings how they are doing and that they are thinking of them at this very moment.

For all of them, I must be both speaker and interpreter today; I have their greetings and heartfelt wishes to convey from here to there and from there to here. Therefore, I want to speak little of politics tonight. What we Germans have to say to each other about the world situation and the future of our country, we all know. That we must endure through the storm of these times until victory is ours has become so self-evident to everyone, especially in this past year, that there is hardly any need to say more about it.

I want to speak instead about the thoughts and feelings that move and fill us all on this Christmas Eve. It should be a half-hour of reflection; we want to retreat within ourselves in a dialogue from person to person, pausing in the hard and clattering march of the century in which we are participating, to look back and forward for a moment.

The gift table under the Christmas tree is sparsely equipped this year. The war has announced itself here as well. We have sent our Christmas candles to the Eastern Front because our soldiers need them more urgently than we do, and instead of dollhouses, castles, lead soldiers, and toy cannons,

our factories have produced other, more war-essential items in recent months, as our troops' needs take precedence over everything else.

But the gifts are not the crucial part of Christmas. Perhaps we are reminded of its spiritual essence all the more because we cannot celebrate it as richly and lavishly as in peacetime in this harsh war year. If we once maintained kinship, friendship, and community through outward gifts, we now want to base them more firmly in our love for each other, in the shared trust that connects us all, and in the longing that at this moment builds golden bridges across endless distances, countries, oceans, and continents between all who belong to us.

The homeland is before everyone's eyes today. Our soldiers and expatriate Germans have especially experienced and learned this year how beautiful it is. Perhaps that is why they have always bravely and faithfully stood up for this homeland. They wanted to protect it from the horrors of war. All who had to leave it out of duty wish to find it the same upon their return as they left it. The war has become a high school of homeland love for our entire people. No matter how difficult it has been or will be for individuals, they find the meaning of their dedication, sacrifice, and brave readiness in the fatherland. If the homeland can celebrate a third wartime Christmas, albeit more sparsely and modestly than usual, but still protected from the threats of our enemies, it must thank those who defend it, their sons, fathers, and brothers who stand outside and, in distant lands and among foreign peoples, have learned all the more what they have in their fatherland and their people.

The great task that demands everyone also requires corresponding dedication from us! And it first approaches our soldiers with its demands. They are now spending their third wartime Christmas mostly outside. The homeland is the fixed point around which all their thoughts and wishes revolve. It must be their greatest pride, especially at this hour, that they have protected this homeland and saved it from the fury of war. They have come to know the horrors of modern warfare; they are surrounded by it daily. It is indeed worth such great and brave efforts that their village and hometown did not experience the same fate as countless villages and cities in enemy territory. What would have become of their parents, their wives, and children if they had not used their bodies to protect the homeland! Every German soldier should keep this in mind today. The homeland can only be as they

imagine it and hope to find it again upon their return if millions of their fathers and sons protect it.

And the same applies to all our expatriate Germans. They often live in a completely foreign, if not hostile, world. It should not surprise us that we Germans of today are not always popular abroad because we defend our right to life. Out there, our compatriots are often surrounded by envy and resentment, hatred and persecution. We at home learn about it only occasionally from the newspapers, but our expatriate Germans experience it daily firsthand. In a hopeless minority, they are exposed to the drumfire of anti-German propaganda, ridiculed, harassed, subjected to humiliating searches and arrests. Why else do they endure this with pride and dignity but for us, for their homeland, which they love just as much and even more consciously than we do, and for which they commit themselves wholeheartedly? For us, it is a given to speak the German language; they are spat upon for it. We read our German newspapers every day; they receive them months later and pass them hand to hand like a beloved greeting from home. We listen to German radio broadcasts every evening; they sometimes tinker with their radios for hours to catch a few fragments of a voice from home. We see our German films and newsreels whenever we want; they have to sneak together secretly to watch a copy of the Western campaign, which we have almost forgotten.

They would also rather be at home than outside; but they stay at their outposts because they want to serve the fatherland. They do not let hatred and envy discourage them. They feel like pioneers of Germanism in the world, not to conquer the world, as our enemies slanderously claim, but to defend their German identity abroad. When we address them today on Christmas Eve alongside our soldiers, it is because we know that Christmas, as a particularly German festival, also connects them most intimately with us. Perhaps today they also think that, despite the severity of their task, they still have it easier than our expatriate Germans in World War I, who often heard nothing from home from its beginning to its end except what our enemies thought fit to say. Today, at least, they are connected with us through the airwaves. They receive our news and speeches, listen to German music and songs, hear firsthand about the heroic struggle of our troops; in short, their imagination has a bridge on which it can hurry home daily.

They can all be reassured. They will not experience the disgrace of November 1918 with the German people of today when news of the German collapse struck them like bludgeoning blows. Today, the homeland knows what it owes to those who commit themselves wholeheartedly for it. As they do not abandon us, we will not abandon them. The homeland would not be worthy of the hard and heavy sacrifices that millions are making for it if it were not constantly striving to prove itself worthy. Certainly, it is not easy for the homeland in this war either. It must give up many cherished habits and willingly and patiently accept thousands of small and large restrictions. Above all, the population in the air-threatened areas has to endure many hardships and deserves the highest praise and warmest recognition for their brave stance.

The entire people are worthy of the great time we are living in. But what we endure at home is only a small fraction of the sacrifices, hardships, deprivations, commitment, and dangers our soldiers take on for us, and also of the persecutions and humiliations our expatriate Germans are constantly exposed to. We at home have no reason to complain. We must endure the necessities of war. Life is hard. The war has only made it harder. We will not master it with sensitivity. We must be brave and constantly ready. Victory will not be given to us; we can only earn it. Everyone must contribute to it. Even and especially this evening, we must focus all our thoughts on it. The time will come when the efforts of war are over. Then, at a later Christmas, we will certainly look back on this Christmas Eve with serenity. It will then appear in a transfigured light in our memory, and surely no one among us will want to miss it. Then, above all, the dead of this war will stand before our eyes as shining heroes who gave their lives to win the higher life of the people.

There is probably no one among us who does not look upward at this hour. The war has not only taught us to be strong before our enemies but also humble before our fate and its divine guide. So let us thank the Almighty for the proud victories he has given us again. We will continue to fight until the entire victory is ours.

Now our Christmas hour is over. Our soldiers sit together and chat about home; at home, we think only of them and speak to them in spirit. The Germans abroad let the vast realm of the Germans light up before their eyes in their imagination once more, and then we all return to the worries and

troubles, burdens, sacrifices, and renunciations of everyday life. But we will accept them more joyfully than before. We must never forget that we alone bear the responsibility, each in his place, and that our struggle and work depend on whether victory comes soon.

We keep it firmly in sight. We will not doubt it for a moment. It must be ours. Thinking of the Führer, who is omnipresent wherever Germans gather, we will rally around the fatherland.

It should emerge greater, more beautiful, and more sublime from this war. It should be the proud and free homeland for us all. That is what we pledge to the Führer at this hour. He can rely on his people at the front, at home, and in the wide world. He leads us, and we follow him. Unburdened by any doubt, we carry the flag and the Reich behind him. The flag and the Reich should remain pure and intact when the great hour of victory comes.

I greet you all from the bottom of my heart. If we once sang of peace on earth in our Christmas carols, now is the time to fight and work for it with equal faith. For peace through victory! Let that be our motto.

May a breath of home flow from my words to the East and West, to the vastness of our front against Bolshevism, to the deserts of North Africa where our soldiers stand, across the world's oceans, over which our submarines and warships rush, over distant countries and continents to the last corner of the earth where a German heart still beats, and also over the homeland itself, over town and country, into every hut and every house.

What Is a Sacrifice?

December 28, 1941

In times of great emotional and feeling disturbances — and war is certainly one of those times — words and concepts sometimes lose their true meaning, and language risks losing its precision and impact. The longer such emotional and feeling disturbances last, the more people tend to align them with their daily lives, and slogans that once moved the world are already beginning to become part of everyday jargon. Although in this war, great care is taken from above to clearly separate everyday matters from questions of our national fate, thus preserving their contours, it can sometimes be observed that certain concepts become worn out from overuse, leaving us without an appropriate expression when we really want to convey them.

The language of soldiers is not the same as that of civilians. Aside from technical military words and phrases, people at the front generally converse differently than those at home. This is because the front lives in a completely different milieu and under entirely different conditions than the homeland. Accordingly, the homeland must also adopt a different language when speaking of, to, or about the front than is used in everyday life at home. Certain words must be reserved almost exclusively for the front or at least for things directly or indirectly related to the front or the war effort. And one such word is sacrifice.

A sacrifice is made by the soldier who has been in the field since 1939, who marched through the dust of Poland and the sun of France, who trudged through muddy roads in the Southeast and has now been fighting in the East for six months in a barbaric struggle for his people's existence. When he stands today, unwavering, from the White Sea to the Black Sea on a front over 2000 kilometers long, in snow and ice, frost and cold, sometimes without food, sometimes without ammunition, completely cut off from the press, radio, film, theater, and all culture for over half a year, waiting weeks for field post, with no roof over his head and no bed to sleep in, surrounded only by desolation and facing the enemy, and yet holds out bravely, subordinating his own wishes and needs to those of the common good, then he makes a sacrifice.

But the same cannot be said of a fellow countryman who, due to wartime traffic restrictions, has to wait half an hour for the next tram and arrives home at half-past eight instead of seven in the evening, where he finds his wife and children and a modest dinner, along with the newspaper and a radio that he only needs to turn a knob to connect to a few or at least one station. If he is tired, he goes to bed. If his work is particularly exhausting, he can usually sleep in on Sundays, and if he gives up half an hour or an hour, he can even buy a movie or theater ticket and watch a film or opera on Saturday or Sunday.

We either must not call what the civilian does a sacrifice, or we must invent a new term for what the soldier does. In any case, we refuse to compare the two at all. The homeland, except for the air-threatened areas, at best takes on restrictions or more or less unpleasant renunciations; the front makes sacrifices.

Individuals must never fall into the error of overestimating their own share in the war. It is especially inappropriate to hold the state, the government, or the party responsible for every inconvenience. Some believe that by paying taxes, they acquire a right to be cared for by the authorities without having to do anything themselves. The war we are fighting today is neither a war of the government, the Wehrmacht, nor the party. It is a war of the whole people. Just as the entire people, without exception, will once enjoy the successes of this war, so must the entire people, without exception, share in its burdens. One must not take the stance that while some are fighting and risking their lives, others have the right to play at peace.

Of course, no one is burdened with a load they do not need to bear out of sheer caprice. But if we at home accept a shortage of tobacco so that at least our soldiers have something to smoke, then no one should object, even if they have to wait an hour to buy a few cigarettes. It is certainly hard for a mother to let her son go to the field. But what should a woman say who lost her husband and four sons in World War I and now had to give her fifth and last son in the battles in the East? It is no pleasure to sit in an air-raid shelter for three hours at night and go to work tired and unrested two hours later. We know a mother who lost her house and both her only children in a bombing raid and received news a few days later that her husband had fallen in the East. She makes a sacrifice, a hard, cruel sacrifice that must and will be borne.

Certain people, especially those who are hardly affected by the war, have gotten into the habit of taking themselves and their small, often trivial everyday worries far too seriously. Some among us, if their hairdresser is drafted and they have to look for a new stylist, would prefer to start lamenting right away. That the railway transports potatoes, coal, and vegetables for the homeland and weapons, ammunition, woolen items, and food for the front at Christmas and therefore has no time for pleasure trips to Oberhof or Garmisch is a subject of hours-long heated discussions for them. They act as if the war hardly concerns them, as if they have a right to be spared from it, as if the soldiers were employed to win it and they were chosen to be the later beneficiaries of their victories. There must be no spoiled young house daughters who spend their day doing nothing while a nurse in a Berlin hospital cares for the severely wounded from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. and then must take care of her household and three children until 1 a.m.

She would have reason to complain or become uncomfortable, but she does not; on the contrary, she performs her duty with constant friendliness, gentleness, and helpfulness, and is overjoyed when, after a year of strenuous work, she receives a movie ticket for Christmas, and does not utter a word of protest if she is ordered to prepare for a major operation just as she is about to leave for the cinema. A young woman loses her husband, an air force officer, in Spain. After overcoming her grief over this loss, she remarries another air force officer and loses him shortly after in this war; she then writes a letter so moving and proud that it brings tears of emotion and pride to one's eyes and fills one's heart with respect and admiration for the unpretentious, spiritual heroism of a German woman.

When our troops marched into Poland in September 1939, they found 60,000 ethnic Germans murdered. Thousands of survivors had lost their parents and all their siblings. Hundreds of parents saw their children shot or beaten to death before their eyes. An elderly mother had to watch her two only sons have their eyes gouged out; her husband was taken away and never returned. Those who survived still live today. They bear their sorrow; it has been lost in the stream of events. Sometimes one receives a letter in which a victim, with a thousand apologies and very modestly, asks if it might be possible to send them a book or a picture of the Führer, or, if it is very high, a small radio for their camp; but if our soldiers need it more urgently, then they say to consider the letter as unwritten. No response is necessary,

but if there is time, they include return postage, and they hope the Führer is well, that nothing happens to him, and they believe in his victory and build mountains on that belief.

Does anyone still want to complain because the German radio station shuts down during air raids, forcing them to go through the admittedly considerable trouble of finding another German station? Is there anyone who leaves the bookstore disgruntled because they cannot spend all their spare money on books, who reads their newspaper with discontent because it has to be limited to four pages due to paper shortages, who grumbles because the subway or tram is crowded, who finds no joy in Christmas because the candles are missing from the tree, who takes offense at New Year's because they cannot put on a red nose or wear a paper hat?

In Berlin, there is a hospital with over a hundred war-blinded, mostly young men between 18 and 24 years old. We placed a radio receiver in each of their rooms, and they all were as delighted as children. As soon as they were back on their feet, they started to live again. They began to retrain for new professions. One, despite losing his eyesight, his entire left arm, and the fingers on his right hand, learned to type with the stump of his hand. Everyone declared this impossible at first, but with iron determination, he succeeded. You are mistaken if you think that sadness and world-weariness prevail in this hospital. Nowhere in Germany is there as much belief in victory, as much trust in the Führer, nowhere are our OKW reports awaited with such anticipation, nowhere is there less complaining and more resolve than here.

Is it too much to ask that we all be more careful and respectful with the word sacrifice? What should they say then! It is not a sacrifice if someone gives twenty pennies for the Winter Relief Work, nor should it be considered a sacrifice if another gives his eyesight for the fatherland. We at home have no reason to dramatize our burdens but every reason to bear them with pride and dignity and to show respect and reverence for those who make real sacrifices for the nation. The war is a communal effort of the front and the homeland; but not both contribute equally. Therefore, the homeland can only assert itself to the front through increased sense of duty and constant readiness. The restrictions it takes on are necessary and therefore will be borne. If anyone has the right to think themselves more important than others,

even in making sacrifices, it is the soldier. But he does not, simply because he is a soldier.

To Our Soldiers

January 1, 1942

At the turn of the year 1941/42, I address the front as a spokesperson for the homeland. I want to convey words of pride and admiration, but also words of enlightenment to our soldiers. You have been standing on all fronts for over two years now, defending the life, freedom, and future of our country. You have marched through the expanses of Poland, fought at Kirkenes and Narvik, crossed the Albert Canal, Grebbe Line, and Maginot Line into Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, brought down Yugoslavia and Greece, eliminated the acute threat of Bolshevik menace that hung over Germany and Europe like a dark specter, endured heroic battles in Africa, claimed the freedom of the skies, and plowed through the world's seas with our warships to deal severe blows to British supply lines. One would need to invent a new language to portray and describe your almost legendary heroism. No one at home is not filled with pride and admiration for our Wehrmacht, and whose heart does not beat faster at the thought that it is our sons, fathers, and brothers who broke the chains that held our national life captive, giving us all room to breathe and the nation the possibility of expressing itself freely.

It would be absurd to compare the achievements of the homeland with this. The greatest success of our armed forces is that they have performed the miracle of protecting our borders so effectively that the enemy could not cross them anywhere, thus enabling the country to live a life that, compared to the demands placed on the front, differs only slightly from peacetime. The homeland knows this and therefore spares no effort to match the front in zeal, readiness for sacrifice, dedication, loyalty to the cause, and belief in ultimate victory within the realm of its possibilities.

This is also the difference between the state of the country in World War I and today. Back then, the front and the homeland grew increasingly apart over four years, so much so that by the end of the war, they almost spoke two different languages. At home, there was little understanding of the soldier's heroic sacrifice, and the front shunned contact with the homeland because it often only caused offense and annoyance. When a soldier risks his

life for his country, he must at least feel that the homeland understands and appreciates his sacrifice.

No one, not even the bravest, dies easily. The phrases about the sweet death of a soldier belong to a long-past era. Soldiers die hard, sometimes much harder than any other person. If their willingness to sacrifice is indispensable, if fate demands the bitterest sacrifice from them, namely their life, they give it out of loyalty and a sense of duty. The less we talk about it, the deeper it must move our hearts; and the one who falls has the right to have his last breath eased by the thought that he dies for a great cause, for his country and thus for his wife and children, his parents and friends, for his homeland, which he has spared the horrors of war, and for the future of his people, which could not continue to exist without sons willing to give their lives for its survival.

These are not patriotic phrases; this is the harsh truth. It is also understandable if soldiers in a long war are often filled with a deep longing for their homeland. Only now do they fully realize how beautiful their country is, having come to know other lands and peoples. It is also clear that they sometimes feel a certain bitterness about the natural contrast between their rough wartime duties and the still somewhat peaceful state of the homeland, especially when subjected to particularly harsh hardships and demands. To the extent that this feeling has any justification, the state leadership is constantly striving to eliminate it. We do not describe the heroic struggle of our soldiers to the homeland through civilian journalists who, as in World War I, make a brief visit to some staff and then write national hymns in their newspapers. Our war correspondents stand with the fighting troops; they present the war to the homeland as it is, with all its relentless realism, and the homeland thus has a very clear picture of the front. This spurs the homeland to new, greater efforts. Today, it is inconceivable that munitions workers at home would strike while the front calls for weapons and ammunition, as they did in World War I.

Today, the worker and the farmer are the good comrades of the soldier. Everyone does their duty in their place, and if one has it a little or much better than another, it should not be a cause for resentment or envy. The demands among soldiers vary as well. The fighting troops in the East endure incomparably harder hardships than, for example, the occupation troops in France. One cannot equalize the commitment through

egalitarianism. The same applies to the homeland. If we try to maintain a semblance of normal life at home today, it is not because we begrudge the soldier anything but because we do not want to impose greater sacrifices on anyone than are absolutely necessary to achieve victory.

This principle also applies at the front. Only a poor leader demands more from his troops out of sheer spite than is necessary to achieve the given objective. For example, we cannot let our streets at home fall into filth and disrepair just because the soldier on the Eastern Front only knows such poor roads. Moreover, maintaining normal life at home benefits the soldier a thousandfold. He knows his loved ones are safe. It gives him a comforting feeling that they are not suffering too much, and he knows that when he returns home after the war, he will not find everything desolate and dilapidated; on the contrary, the transition to peacetime will be made as easy as possible for him and the entire front.

Of course, this effort has a natural limit: where it starts to become cynical and disrespectful. The front-line soldier would have every right to be outraged if people at home were dancing and ignoring the war while he risks his life and sees his comrades wounded and dying beside him. But he would be unfair if he, for example, demanded that the homeland close its cinemas and theaters. Firstly, they serve the working people, including countless soldiers, vacationers, and the wounded, for recreation, and secondly, what would he say if he found the homeland sunk in gloom and melancholy during his leave, whenever it might come?

It is clear that every soldier who comes home from the front is initially struck by the thousand everyday things in the homeland. In spirit, he still lives entirely on the front lines. He cannot understand that people at home get worked up about a host of concerns that seem petty and insignificant to him. But this is necessary. Everyone struggles with what is imposed on them. In civilian life, too, some have it harder than others. But if one looks closely, one will usually discover that fate burdens each person with as much as they can bear. A housewife must struggle to gather food for the family. Her husband works in an armaments factory for 10 or 12 hours; he comes home in the evening grumpy and irritable, the food does not taste good, he has smoked all his cigarettes or has not received any, the newspaper has shrunk in size and does not offer enough reading material; just as he lies down in bed, the air-raid sirens wail, and he must sit in the cellar for three

hours, where there is nothing but trouble with the dear neighbors. Everyone is overtired and nervous; two hours of sleep, and then back to work. Who among us would demand or even expect that we close our cinemas and theaters, depriving such hardworking people of a small and modest relaxation on Saturdays or Sundays?

Surely, the soldier often has no bed to lie in at all. He would be glad if he could get a newspaper, even if it were two weeks old. Cigarettes are sometimes missing for days. But he is a soldier. That is his honor and privilege. The homeland is grateful to him for everything he does for it. It tries to ease his struggle as much as possible. It does not make a business out of war, as in 1917/18. It lives decently and dutifully; and if there is some grumbling here and there, it is not meant seriously, and the soldier should have the most understanding for it. The government spares no effort to ensure the soldier's commitment is not harder than necessary. It protects him at home with laws that are as front-line as possible.

The soldier is the pride of the people. Everything possible is done for him, both spiritually and materially. If he is wounded, he is quickly given proper care. He is an honorary citizen of the nation, not in words but in deeds. Every soldier's job is secured; he does not need to fear that when he returns home, someone else will be sitting in his place. He has the Führer's word, the greatest security a German can have. His wife and family are cared for, as much as humanly possible. If circumstances are stronger than all of us, then our National Socialist state must also be modest. But where is anything fundamental neglected that we must, should, and can do? The soldier is right to say that all this is self-evident. In World War I, the opposite was self-evident, and in England, it still is today; and there, soldiers had to and still have to give their all. One would not do justice to the front if one expected it to express gratitude to the homeland. The opposite is true. And these feelings also move the hearts of our people. In the third year of the war, the homeland stands as faithfully by the front as in the first, follows its struggle with burning interest, mourns its fallen with pride and sorrow, and rises to the daily repeated heroism of our soldiers.

No one knows how long the war will last. But that we will win it, we all know; the front fights for it, and the homeland works for it.

When I have the honor today to speak to the front on behalf of the homeland, I feel united with all good Germans, inside and outside, in the awareness that nothing can separate us, that the third year of the war will find us even more prepared, that the front will continue to fulfill its hard duty and the homeland will do nothing and leave nothing undone that could give it cause to be ashamed when our troops return home.

That is my New Year's greeting in the third year of the war to our soldiers. It is the greeting of the homeland to the front.

The New Year

January 4, 1942

Countless people in the enemy camp will have faced the anxious question at the turn of the year: what will the new year 1942 bring them and their peoples—stagnation, setback, or defeat? The preceding year, 1941, had its twists and turned out very differently from what our enemies had envisioned. Perhaps some of them, in the reflection that the new year offers, felt the gnawing worry that the new year might bring such severe blows to their side that they would never recover.

We, too, have looked back and forward, certainly under much more favorable circumstances than on the enemy side. For the cause we champion is just and clear. All possibilities for victory are at its disposal. The peoples committed to it are young and healthy, and their leaders are determined, no matter the cost, to bring the great struggle for their countries' existence to a successful conclusion.

We understand what lies ahead for us in the new year and what we must do to achieve it. And clarity is always the precursor to victory. We know we are fighting for our national and, in most cases, our individual lives. We do not deceive each other or nourish our hopes with illusory illusions. We are fully aware of the efforts required to achieve success and are ready to make and bear these efforts. The German people live in a harsh political climate in the third year of the war. That is good. None of us indulge in frivolous delusions. The harsher the climate, the more dogged the determination to overcome difficulties. Experience teaches that peoples heavily tested by life do not lose strength but only gain it. We Germans would not be as we are if everything had been made easy for us. What we represent and possess as a nation, we had to fight for ourselves. Only rarely in our history have we been given something or received it undeservedly. Are we weaker or inferior to other peoples who have had more luck and favorable coincidences on their side than we? In this historical struggle, we must defend ourselves. Only those who expected war to be a kind of sensational diversion are surprised. The strong hearts and sharp minds have expected it to be as it is, and no different.

It is clear that the war, in its third year, presents a multitude of problems we would never have thought of in normal times. It required a grand adjustment of our economy to its own purposes and needs, pushing civilian life further into the background. This will naturally be felt much more in the third winter of the war than in the first. Today, we encounter the war at every step. This will be the same for our enemies; moreover, the homeland shares this fate with our soldiers, with the difference that they have been surrounded by war in its harshest form since September 1939. The longer the war lasts, the more the homeland will align with the feelings and experiences of the front; and this is not to be lamented but welcomed in the interest of the front.

We have always believed that the best way to handle popular sentiment is to address the problems that concern us all frankly and confidently. This does not mean that political and military secrets should be publicly discussed, as democracies often do to their detriment. But there are countless other issues that exist and whose existence cannot be denied because they confront everyone in some form. These are usually everyday problems we all have to deal with. They are mainly caused by the war and occur just as sharply on the enemy side as they do for us. As far as they can be satisfactorily solved in wartime, this is best and most effectively done through community effort and mutual aid. Presenting these issues to the people and discussing them openly is not a sign of weakness but of strength and sovereign security. No one, for example, will expect the railway administration to run holiday trains if it needs to transport potatoes, coal, vegetables, ammunition, and weapons, and no one blames the government for issuing Christmas candles in limited quantities because they are urgently needed on the Eastern Front. This must be said and explained. Our people understand this best, as it is their fathers and sons who are out there, and all the restrictions the homeland endures benefit them.

And finally, most problems can only be fundamentally solved with the people's help. The people will be all the more willing to help if they know what it is about and what is at stake.

The English make a profession out of inferring our internal weakness from the open presentation of a wartime emergency. We do not bother to point out to them that they are hitting themselves in the face with

this. As citizens of a so-called free democracy, they are proud that everything is publicly discussed in their country; and if we were to draw conclusions about the internal state of the British people from the daily debates in English newspapers, we would have to believe that the Empire is on the brink of collapse.

We do not even take notice of it because we are convinced that the war will be decided solely by hard facts, and such a fact is not that Mr. Smith complains in a letter to the "Daily Telegraph" about having to wait an hour in line to buy five cigarettes and that it also rained. We only conclude from this that tobacco is just as scarce in London as it is in Berlin and take due note of it. But it would be equally foolish to believe that the British Empire would collapse because of this as it is foolish for the English to think that the Germans would revolt because of a shortage of Christmas items.

And besides, what do the English have to do with it? They do not take up our internal concerns to help us but only to exploit them for propaganda purposes, just as they would not, if we had sufficient tobacco, merely acknowledge it with satisfaction and praise the shortage of tobacco in England in comparison. We are at war with each other. In war, especially the English are known to use any means to harm the enemy. What reason should we have to consider or pay attention to them at all? We can only expect harm and evil from them. They scold whether we are doing well or poorly, and they probably seize our internal concerns so lovingly because they believe they can prevent us from seriously dealing with them through their clamor.

How little they know us! If they ever studied the history of our party and the National Socialist state, they would surely find that we have seldom been afraid of anything, never of so-called world opinion. We have experienced too often how shamefully and for what despicable purposes this world opinion is made to have any respect for it. It is only psychologically interesting for us to see London journalists and radio announcers struggle after our broadcasts to distill something from even the simplest and clearest sentence to nourish their pale hopes. How many pens must they have chewed up by now! It has been going on like this for over a year; has anything changed in the situation? Not at all! It was a waste of effort. None of the British illusions became reality. As started, so ended, one can only say. But we have always dealt openly with the problems, regardless of the English

scolding, as far as circumstances allowed. We were the winners, and the English were left with nothing.

A nation, especially the German one, is generally much tougher than commonly assumed. It does not want to be pampered or spoiled. You only need to tell it what to do, and it will set to work with enthusiasm. Can anyone say that we have ever appealed to the nation in a significant matter in vain and unsuccessfully? Even with harsh and inconvenient demands, the German people are always ready to follow the leadership if these demands and their necessity are explained correctly and convincingly. The willingness of our people to act always exceeds expectations, and this is always humbling.

No one, for example, will deny that wool and fur items are currently very scarce in Germany and cannot be replaced in wartime. When we called for the collection of winter items for the front on the radio two weeks ago, the speech was not yet finished when a flood of phone calls from across the Reich blocked all ministry lines for hours. Baskets of telegrams and letters were delivered in the following days, not one with objections, all with donations, good and useful advice, inquiries about what and where and when to deliver. When we studied the English newspapers and radio reports the next day, we found once again with interest that London expected a German revolution and saw the first sign of it in the collection of winter items for the front.

We let the English have their fun. They understand the German people as much as a cow understands radiation research.

They will have to pay dearly for their illusions one day. But it is our duty to remain tough and composed, think realistically, and never lose our footing, tackle war problems where they arise, and begin the new year with the same determination with which we mastered the past one.

Then we will conquer it, come what may.

We Build a Bridge

January 11, 1942

Sometimes in a variety show or a grotesque film, one sees an amusing scene with content something like this: Two clowns lie on the ground, lacking the strength to rise by their own efforts. After many futile individual attempts, which, due to their grotesque comedy, repeatedly provoke storms of laughter from the audience, they move closer to each other on the ground, touch neck to neck, move their legs, and slowly lift each other up from behind. But no sooner are they up than they fall helplessly back to the ground, the spectators slap their thighs and squeal with delight. If the clowns then say during their futile attempts to get up, "We are building a bridge!", the audience's laughter becomes even more uproarious and never seems to end. The whole scene is undeniably comic; everyone expects it to always have the same effect. Only those who have not seen it before remain serious until they understand the punchline.

One is reminded of this vaudeville sketch when reading the recent court reports in English and American papers about the meeting between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt in Washington: two powerless figures lying on the ground, neither able to rise by their own strength, trying to lift and support each other and build a bridge. They need it. That Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, given the severe blows these two infernal war-mongers received in recent weeks in East Asia after their brazen provocations and provocative play with Japan's patience and forbearance, do not have much to offer their own peoples anymore, will surprise no one; for the contrast between their boastful predictions, and thus their wishes and goals on the one hand, and the successes or failures achieved so far on the other, is so stark that even the Anglo-Saxon peoples, who are known to be quite used to such things, are gradually losing patience. What do you do in such a case? You hide your own deadly embarrassment behind a cloud of phrases and pale excuses and slowly try to lift each other up and build a bridge.

This is the real reason and background for Mr. Churchill's trip to the USA. He has surrounded this trip with the whole publicity hullabaloo typical of his character and temperament, which one has come to expect from him,

the man with the worst political taste. That he has his Jewish press agents spread the word that his bedroom in the White House is kept secret for fear of attacks by the Fifth Column, we can let pass. But then he poses for the press in Mr. Roosevelt's office, and there he is in his element. He climbs onto a chair, cigar in the corner of his mouth, and lets himself be admired and applauded by Schmock. We can imagine that there are still people in England who find such a scene more than gallant. It is so annoyingly vulgar that any further word about it is unnecessary. But it gets better. So that the simpler souls get something from his visit, he lets himself be publicly observed and judged while praying: "At the High Mass on Christmas Day in Washington, Churchill and Mrs. Roosevelt were seen looking into the same hymnbook while the President's baritone voice drowned out all others in the church."

This is quintessential Churchill! This report from the Reuter bureau will have been written by himself. It is hardly surpassed in crude hypocrisy and bloated Phariseeism. Only that ghostly scene Churchill played for the press during his visit to Ottawa rivals it in tastelessness. There, Jewish journalists gave him a cap made of Alaskan seal. "The cap fits me wonderfully!" he replies, puts it on, and parades up and down before the press people with his index and middle fingers spread in a V, who double over with laughter. Grock has a new competitor.

One could shrug off all this, and we would hardly consider it worth mentioning if it were not so extraordinarily characteristic of the man to whom England has entrusted the fate of its empire. It is not everyone's business to have a sense of political style, and for certain times it may be more useful for a statesman to have a thick skin than good taste. But what is too much is too much. If someone has as many misdeeds as Mr. Churchill, the police should actually forbid him from performing such a completely pointless theater instead of enlightening the world about the long series of his failures. A man with such versatile talents belongs in a cabaret or on the variety stage, not at the head of an empire.

And as for his companion and rival Mr. Roosevelt, he would also do better to finally give the American people a precise account of the devastating losses of battleships and positions in East Asia instead of belting out chorales for the church gallery with his heroic baritone. Such scenes seem ridiculous or at best repulsive to the European audience. We are not used to having certain activities filmed, and among these activities is prayer. Those

who broadcast their piety to the world are suspected of having evil intentions; and that is indeed the case here.

These two political criminals have ignited a world fire before which they are gradually beginning to dread. Mr. Roosevelt apparently imagined the affair in East Asia to be as easy as Mr. Churchill imagined it to be in Europe, and now they and their peoples suddenly face realities that are more than sobering. Of course, they can still cause the Axis powers inconvenience at all corners; but overall, they are caught in the snare they had set for us. Wherever they try to strike in this now hopeless situation for them, they either hit empty space or encounter resistance that is completely insurmountable for them. So the only remaining hope is the Soviet Union, which is supposed to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the plutocratic powers. The Kremlin must save what can still be saved.

So Mr. Eden goes to Moscow to build a bridge with Stalin. Here the mission is set in contrast to Washington, proletarian. One does not go to Christmas Mass or sing chorales; on the contrary, it is noticeable that, as the British press reports, for the first time an English communiqué dispenses with all forms of titles. It is no longer "The Right Honorable Mr. Eden," but simply "Mr. Eden," and the "Daily Mail" adds that this is surely a symptom of the new style and new cordiality. It seems to us that the title "Right Honorable" was removed from Mr. Eden by a joker for entirely different reasons. And as for the new cordiality, it was expressed much more drastically upon the British Foreign Minister's return when he was greeted at a London train station by a large crowd singing the Internationale.

This is the new style, also recently adopted by the otherwise so boringly distinguished "Times," which, in convoluted editorials, explains that the Soviet Union can claim something for its blood sacrifice and that in the event of an Anglo-American-Bolshevik victory, it would be most appropriate to hand over all of Europe to it for administration. If our neutral states, in their blind misunderstanding of the overall situation, had even a primitive sense of their national future and security, they would now know what they had to do, namely, if not fight for a German victory, then at least pray for it. But they have been abandoned by God and all good spirits. The wisdom of their political judgment grows only with the proximity of the Bolshevik revolutionary brigades; and since these are far away, the Swedes and Swiss believe they can afford the luxury of being arrogant towards us.

Surely they will agree with us that if the Soviet Union must and can be militarily defeated, only the German Wehrmacht is capable of doing so, and if the current clearing up of our front in the East truly meant what the English gentlemen like to make of it and the Swedes and Swiss quote with such great pleasure—of course, there can be no talk of it at all—they would have more reason to tremble than to rejoice; for they would be the first victims of the European reorganization under Bolshevik leadership already granted by London to the Soviet Union. This is the price Mr. Eden, the best-dressed fashion favorite of the London gentry, was asked to pay in Moscow and which he paid without hesitation. The English communists had every reason to sing the Internationale upon his return. And the chronicler did not err when he omitted the title "Right Honorable" in the communiqué. He is an intellectual brute who has agreed to deliver Europe to a new Mongol storm for the last desperate attempt to save the British Empire.

Thus, we are dealing here, as with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, with a hardened sinner who shrinks from nothing to evade responsibility for his criminal policy.

How bad must things be for England if its leading men must resort to such steps of desperation! And what responsibility rests upon us all, on the front and at home, considering that the fate of our continent is mainly entrusted to us, our strength, our energy, our will to defend and attack! The German nation and its allies today form the last wall against the Mongol storm; no other power exists to protect Europe. England has betrayed Europe and now sold it to Moscow. Its plutocratic leaders beg the world for military aid. They are ready to pay any price to support their tottering empire. Stalin's last chance would have come with this.

We deliberately say would have. In fierce, bloody defensive battles, the German Wehrmacht in the East repels the desperate breakthrough attempts of the Bolshevik soldiery. On the snow and ice fields of Russia, the German soldiers and their allies are fighting the battle for Europe's existence. With sparse words, the daily OKW report describes the heroism of our fathers and sons, which will one day belong more to legend than history. It is not in vain. In it, our continent finds its rebirth through pain and struggle.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden build bridges out of burlesque and tragicomic clowning, which collapse as soon as they are erected. Meanwhile, Germany and its allies stand ready in arms to repel the plutocratic threats to their peoples' existence. The time will come when the final clash of forces will decide the outcome. Higher seriousness, stronger will, better ideas, and braver hearts will win.

In other words: we will!

A Nation Helps Itself

Radio Address Concluding the Collection of Wool, Fur, and Winter Clothing for the Front

January 14, 1942

I have just received the final results of the collection of wool, fur, and winter clothing for the front. With this, I can report to the Führer the fulfillment of the task he assigned me on December 16th.

The collection, carried out in response to his appeal by the entire German people under the leadership of the Gauleiters of all districts and with the assistance of over two million helpers, has resulted in a total of 67,232,686 items. This surpasses last Sunday's preliminary result of 56,325,930 items by 10,906,756.

In light of this truly proud and admirable communal achievement, in which the entire German people participated with spontaneous generosity and willingness to help, I personally feel a sincere need to convey my warmest recognition and heartfelt thanks to all donors and helpers.

I thank, above all, those who, following the Führer's appeal, parted with their warming winter clothing in the interest of our fighting troops on the Eastern Front, to make these available to our soldiers. I know how difficult this was for many of them, and therefore my gratitude for their willingness to help is especially heartfelt.

I also thank the over two million helpers who volunteered their services for this great cause and devoted every free hour for weeks to the collection.

I thank especially the millions of German women who, despite their extensive war duties, immediately joined the collection ordered by the Führer with their traditional loyalty and willingness to help, tirelessly working in over 24,000 sewing rooms to alter, produce, or repair warm clothing for our soldiers.

My thanks also go to the German youth, who, through their enthusiastic efforts, almost independently managed a huge transport movement and thus contributed decisively to the collection's magnificent success.

I extend my gratitude to all party organizations that, under the leadership of the Gauleiters, selflessly and eagerly dedicated themselves to the swift and generous execution of this collection.

Similarly, I thank the press, radio, and film industries, whose exemplary propaganda for this collection significantly contributed to its success.

A particularly heartfelt thanks goes to the German skiers. I am well aware of how difficult it was for most of them to part with their beloved skis and make them available to our soldiers. They did this without hesitation and as a matter of course because they knew that in these serious times, the needs of our soldiers take precedence over all else.

The result of the collection proves more than enough that this time, more than on any other occasion, the generosity of our entire people came from the heart. I believe I am not mistaken in the impression that everyone at home gladly took the opportunity to show our soldiers how grateful we all are to them and how connected we feel with them.

The execution of this collection has been a matter of the heart for the German home front, and therefore it was from the beginning more an act of national solidarity than an act of propaganda.

It was left to our enemies to give it a political character. When English newspapers wrote a few days ago that the entire German people were outraged by it and that it could only be carried out by the police forcibly tearing off furs and coats from passersby in the streets, when London radio reported that Berlin women tried to prevent the departure of the transport trains with wool and winter clothing for the front by lying on the tracks, I refrain from responding to such mean-spirited, stupid, and silly lies. Such lies discredit themselves. Silent contempt is the best response here. Even this morning, Moscow radio reported that the collection had yielded only a

meager result; in total, 22 furs had been collected. Here, too, I refrain from presenting the nearly four million collected furs as a striking counterproof. I would insult the German people if I even attempted to offer such a counterproof.

Only through these enemy lies has the collection of wool and winter clothing for the Eastern Front become a political matter; and since our enemies took a stand against it, the German people have given them a response they will not soon forget. They turned the collection, which the enemies made a political issue, into a political act themselves. It is therefore today more than just a matter of communal help; it is a convincing proof of the determination with which the German nation is ready to see this war through to victory.

None of us has ever doubted this readiness. A nation whose front performs heroic deeds like our soldiers in the East, a nation whose home front is so willing and ready to support this front, must and will win.

I have the task of expressing to all of you, my German compatriots and comrades, donors and helpers, the Führer's recognition and thanks. If our Christmas gifts were modest this past holiday, the German people have, according to the Führer's call, lavishly gifted their front instead. If we maintain the spirit expressed in this communal act throughout the war and for the future, we will overcome all the difficulties of the war and steadily march closer to victory.

The collection of wool, fur, and winter clothing for the front is thus concluded. I am proud to have led it to such a splendid result. Once again, I convey my recognition and heartfelt thanks to all who supported me in this effort, donors and helpers alike.

Smoke from London

January 18, 1942

Once again, there is smoke coming from London. This always happens when things are going badly for the plutocratic clique and Mr. Churchill's position is starting to wobble. In such cases, this arch-liar has a tried and tested method at hand, as primitive as it is effective, to which the English public promptly falls prey every time. Mr. Churchill sketches for the English people the colossal picture of an imminent German revolution in broad strokes. If the situation is not too critical for him, he contents himself with a few mumbled hints, which seem sufficient for such occasions. But if things are serious and his position is truly at stake, he dives into the matter with a dedicated storytelling art. He provides names, dates, details, and alleged facts as if he were present himself, and with such astounding certainty that one sometimes scratches one's head and resignedly concludes: if he is good at anything, it is lying.

We thought that the complete failure of British war efforts in East Asia might cost him his head. It might have come to that if he had not hurriedly retreated to the USA and put on a show there, making it impossible for London to unseat him. But the apparent success of Washington and Ottawa was not enough to last long, and on his return journey, the British premier was inundated with a flood of bad news, which within a few days culminated in an imminent threat to Singapore. One must bear in mind the importance, but also the fragility, of the English position in East Asia to understand what this means for the British Empire. Mr. Churchill was caught in his own trap.

One can imagine how desperately he must have sent cable after cable to London, only to conclude that the growing crisis in the British public could no longer be managed with ordinary means. Anyone reading the English press these days could only marvel at the frosty tone with which the Churchill regime was being condemned. For the first time, one got the impression that an empire's twilight was rising in London. The British premier felt compelled to throw his intimate friend Duff Cooper to the raging public as a sacrifice. Rarely has a politician of rank—who at least in London

is considered such—been so insultingly dismissed with a communiqué as the former British Minister of Information was. But even that wasn't enough. And so, Mr. Churchill had no choice but to delve once more into the old bag of tricks, to bring out the most worn-out item from the good old days: the German revolution.

This time, he could not content himself with vague hints; given the severity of his own situation, he had to resort to detailed fabrication. One can infer from the total illogicality of his deceitful claims the nervousness with which he approached this. It started with the wool collection. Brazenly and cheekily, his press simply falsified the results, claiming that just over four million items were collected when in reality it was over 60 million. And how were these four million collected? The police literally ripped them off passersby on the streets, leaving them naked, cursing, and shivering in the cold winter. Is it any wonder that Berlin women then gathered in protest demonstrations, opposing the transport of their forcibly taken fur and woolen items to the front, lying on the tracks to prevent the trains from leaving? Oddly, they completely forgot that the furs and woolens taken from them were meant for their men and sons at the Eastern Front. Or perhaps they suspected that the harsh Russian winter was just a Nazi invention, and that this collection was only meant to steal their winter clothes to adorn the Nazis themselves.

This, in turn, stirred the generals into action. Outraged by the alleged Nazi defeat on the Eastern Front—this time, the Nazis are, unusually for Mr. Churchill and his lying propagandists, at the front rather than just staying at home—the generals decided to give the regime the coup de grâce. They formed a revolutionary council and resolved to liquidate the Nazis, abandon Japan, and join the Anglo-American-Bolshevik front. With no enemies left, the war would be over. Nevertheless, the generals had to expect that the Nazis would not go quietly; hence, cannons and machine guns were set up in the government quarter in Berlin to lend force to their dark plans.

So things stand. We must therefore be prepared for the matter to kick off tomorrow or the day after, and the English public has the comforting certainty that the loss of Hong Kong and perhaps soon Singapore poses no danger to the British Empire. Because these very facts have led the German people to the all too obvious conclusion to turn brusquely away from Japan

precisely because of its successes against England and to defect to Churchill and Roosevelt.

If one looks at things in the light, one might think these are fantasies from a madhouse. Perhaps some might suspect us of exaggerating. Both are incorrect. What we quote here has been brought verbatim by the English newspapers and radio stations in the last three weeks, and even more. We had no reason to add anything. Initially, we felt it was beneath our dignity to respond until we read in North and South American newspapers under large headlines that the revolution in Berlin had meanwhile broken out, that the police were no longer in control, that the Reich was once again experiencing its weak hour as in 1918, and that the victory of the Anglo-American-Bolshevik front was only a matter of days.

Mr. Churchill has it easy. He rules a people who, at least judging by these recent experiences, can be expected to believe anything. But we have the impression that as the war drags on, the intervals in which such a bald-faced lie works become ever shorter. We also no longer believe that he intends to make any impression on the German people with his lying campaigns. If his continued alcohol abuse still allows him any use of his faculties, he must have long since abandoned that hope.

We also do not feel compelled to refute or even counter his lies before the German nation. Should we declare that we did not rip the wool and fur garments for the front from the bodies of German citizens? Everyone in Germany knows that they made them for our soldiers themselves. Should we publish photos of Wilhelmstrasse showing that there are no cannons against the people, but only anti-aircraft guns against British air raids? Should we deny the treacherous plan of betrayal against Japan attributed to our generals? It is too foolish. One cannot seriously expect us to react when Mr. Churchill invents nursery tales to shore up his shaky position. They are meant only for domestic English consumption.

Incidentally, it would be pointless. We do not claim any prophetic insight, yet we use only a fraction of our intelligence to predict what Radio London will say in response to our comments tomorrow. We know this from countless examples in the past. If we remain silent, London takes it as proof of the correctness of English lies; if we deny, they claim there must be some truth to it, or else we wouldn't deny it. So what should we do to expose Mr.

Churchill? We have no choice but to let common sense refute him and to counter with facts that speak convincingly.

And once again, the German people at home have created such a fact. It is clear and indisputable, even for British lying propaganda. The German nation has responded to the Führer's call to collect wool and winter clothing for the Eastern Front on a scale that has shamed even us, who have always held our people's national solidarity in high regard. If there was ever a need for proof of our people's unity in action, here it is. With this, the citizens of our country have moved on from the nonsense of British propaganda and given the only response it deserves: silent contempt.

Beyond the material success of this action of national solidarity, the ideological success of such a communal act reaches even further. It is a political matter of the first order and has such an effect on neutral and even enemy foreign countries. If the English today falsify the figures of this collection and do not even acknowledge a tenth of the success achieved, the German people can see what they had hoped for. Once again, they have been thoroughly deceived. We have given them a slap in the face that they will not soon forget.

This is good, and so it should remain. Here a spirit was revealed, which one can only hope will remain with us throughout the entire war and forever. Then we are unbeatable, and a great national future is assured. In the life of nations, there are moments when they must prove themselves. They must demonstrate whether they have the moral right to play a leading role among other nations. We are living through such moments today. The German nation has recognized and seized them. Our people are ready and willing to use them. Mr. Churchill and his degenerate plutocratic clique cannot change that. While he may be able to cause us annoyance and frustration, to place obstacles in our path and perhaps push us off course temporarily, it does not change the fact that this war is our great opportunity and that we will not let it pass unheeded.

May our people remain as they have proven themselves here, retaining their idealism, willingness to give, sense of community, and national solidarity in this strength for all future; then no harm can come to us. Mr. Churchill is then only capable of creating smoke. But one day, over the fog of his phrases and lies, our sun will rise.

Transformation of Souls

January 25, 1942

The third winter of the war finds the German people in a different state than the first. This is all too understandable and hardly needs further explanation. The dimensions of the war have expanded over the past two and a half years, and with their expansion, the war's goals have also broadened. We face entirely different political aspects and military possibilities today than in the winter of 1939/1940. Back then, we had just successfully completed the campaign against Poland and spent weeks and months wondering whether, when, and how the storm in the West would break. Many still hoped that it might be possible to limit the military confrontation to Europe and adjusted themselves internally and externally to this possibility. The war was taken seriously, but not too tragically. It naturally brought a multitude of worries and burdens, but they were not such that they constantly reminded us of its relentlessness. Therefore, it is understandable, if not justifiable, that everyone was mainly concerned with the question of when it would end and when soldiers and civilians could return to their peacetime work.

That is different today. The campaign in the East, which has been fought with stubborn bitterness for seven months and presents the nation with new problems every day, Japan's and the United States' entry into the war, marking it as a second world war, the gigantic struggle for living space and resources that has begun for the resource-hungry Axis powers—all these have given the military confrontation a new grand profile, and the concerns that mainly occupied us two years ago now shrink to nothing.

The war has not passed without leaving a mark on our soldiers. You can see it in their faces when they appear in pictures or newsreels or during a short stay at home. They have become harder and more relentless. Two and a half years of war have left an indelible mark on their features. When you talk to an acquaintance who has just come from the front in the East, you sometimes feel that he speaks a new, entirely unfamiliar language. He sees things differently than before: more seriously, consciously, and resolutely. Victory was once a great, shining desire for him; today, it is a harsh and grim

necessity. He sees this war, despite all its hardships and sacrifices, as a kind of relentlessness that must be conquered. For him, it is a national test that will ultimately decide the fate of the German people. Everyone knows that we can no longer avoid it, and all are determined not to want to avoid it. We must win! This is the starting point and the end of all conversations you have with front-line soldiers today.

And it is similar on the home front. We have the feeling that the growing burdens that the longer duration of the war brings for everyone are no longer overly dramatized or are at least seen in their importance behind the great national destiny we are all experiencing and shaping. There are hardly any people at home who indulge in the luxury of playing at peace in their small lives while the fury of war rages over the continents. The German nation even gives the impression to passing foreigners that it is ready and determined to do whatever is necessary to fight its way to victory. People at home are almost waiting to be called upon and put to work. Throughout the nation, it is considered dishonorable not to contribute to the war and its success. Big and small, poor and rich compete with each other to fully commit to equipping the nation to fight its gigantic struggle for survival victoriously. In two and a half years, we have become a nation at war.

What that means, we cannot fully grasp today. One only needs to compare the attitude of the German people in 1917 during the First World War with that of 1942 in the Second World War to understand the profound transformation we have all undergone. While newly emerging difficulties weakened and discouraged us back then, today they are more likely to harden us and make us more resilient. There is less debate about the war and its possibilities, but all the more stubborn and determined fighting and working for it. How little our enemies understand today's German people is evident in the hopes and expectations they attached, for example, to the collection of wool and winter clothing for the front. Never have we Germans refuted them more convincingly than with this magnificent improvisation of communal aid. It was a kind of fever of national solidarity; the counter-proof against enemy attempts at demoralization succeeded on a scale that even we never thought possible.

It is no empty phrase when we declare that the German people have grown even closer to the heart of every patriot in the third winter of the war than in the first. Back then, the war was still something unfamiliar to all of us.

We first had to find our way in it, adjust to its relentlessness; it meant saying goodbye to cherished habits and peacetime notions, which is always difficult. Now we are accustomed to its harsh climate. The nation is prepared for war. It stands with firm and unshakeable confidence behind the Führer, knowing that he will guide everything for the best. It is filled with glowing gratitude to its Wehrmacht and lives in the conviction that, as before, it will make the seemingly impossible possible in the future. Today, one only needs to recall that soldiers and officers of the front had to endure the most shameful treatment at home after the end of the World War to feel a deep sense of shame.

Our Wehrmacht is everything to us today. The home front suffers from not being able to do more for them. A few days ago, we were presented with a collection of greetings that donors of wool and fur items had attached to their donations for our soldiers: it was deeply moving and brought tears to our eyes to read these notes. If the front can even sense the last traces of the stream of concern, attachment, and love that flows continuously from home to them, they must be blessed in the hardest engagements, knowing they have such a homeland behind them.

Battle and danger have only brought us closer together. We Germans know that we are invincible when we link arms and close ranks in national unity. Who reads the leaflets dropped by English bombers over German cities today? Who listens to the hypocritical and deceitful speeches of Churchill and Roosevelt? Who is even for a moment unclear that they only want to deceive and mislead us? Their backers have spoken too openly; they have expressed their will to annihilate the German people and Reich too frivolously and brusquely for any of us not to know what they are planning and what would threaten us if we showed any weakness in any area of our national life. We are fortified. A people like the Germans, who have endured a school of suffering for 28 years such as history has rarely seen, will also survive the last test imposed by fate before victory. Besides the fact that they have no other choice, they are also morally and with the strength of their strong and unspent hearts determined to do so. They no longer need to be urged daily to maintain their stance: they have stance.

There is no doubt that the time we are living through today will later count among our proudest memories. Just as we in the party look back most fondly on the phases of our struggle when everything was at stake and

everyone had to stand their ground to avoid being overrun by the assault of our enemies, so too will the stubborn defensive battles in this war, where the gains had to be defended with the bravest efforts of our Wehrmacht, remain most vividly in our memory. It is in these that true manliness has always been found. And a people that successfully overcomes such harsh trials of fate gains, once and for all, the halo of invincibility.

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national life. We are fortified. A people like the Germans, who have endured a school of suffering for 28 years such as history has rarely seen, will also survive the last test imposed by fate before victory. Besides the fact that they have no other choice, they are also morally and with the strength of their strong and unspent hearts determined to do so. They no longer need to be urged daily to maintain their stance: they have stance.

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A time loses much of its hardship and burden if those who must bear it have the strength to see it from the perspective of future memory. Who talks today about the horrors of the winter cold we endured from January to March 1940? In the euphoric victory of the Western offensive, they were degraded to trifles. Who will talk in May or June this year about the physical and emotional burdens of this winter? They will then be just a memory for us, replaced by new worries and new tasks to which we must then devote all our energy.

So let us be hard on ourselves! Let us get used to a certain level of insensitivity to the troubles of the time, and we will master them best and most successfully. Our soldiers in the East face an enemy whose danger lies in his insensitivity. It is partly racial and partly increased to animalistic brutality by the Bolshevik system. Only calmness and an iron heart will lead to victory here. Sensitivity will not get us far. As little as it may suit our people, we must learn and adopt it today with determination. The war is the great character test for each of us. Those who do not prove themselves here risk losing connection with a people undergoing an increasing hardening process under its pressure.

And the home front has a great task to fulfill here. It must be driven by the ambition to keep pace with the front in its intellectual and emotional

transformation, which is undergoing this process inevitably and at a much faster pace than we are. It must be our pride to ensure that when our soldiers come home, whether for a short leave or after victory forever, we speak the same language, are filled with the same feelings, and carry the same future prospects as they do. Then we will emerge from this worldwide, gigantic struggle as a warlike and warrior people that has successfully passed the hardest test of fate and will not be found too light on the scales of history.

Who could then deny us the right to lead a part of the earth?

On Trust in One's Own Strength

February 8, 1942

We Germans are still a young people. As such, in our political struggle for destiny, we have a number of advantages over our enemies, but also a number of disadvantages. On the plus side, the German nation approaches current tasks with a healthy realism, without being overly burdened by traditional prejudices. German state and military leadership does not wear a wig. It stands firmly on the ground and sees things as they deserve to be seen, as is necessary and appropriate given the circumstances. We work quickly and precisely and do not stumble over trifles. We are governed not by bureaucracy, but by common sense.

The men who have authority in Germany today mostly come from the broad masses of the people. Therefore, they know best where the shoe pinches for the people. Development processes that take years in outdated democracies are accomplished by us in weeks or even days. The advantage of such a working state machinery cannot be overestimated. Where our system does not lead to the goal, we resort to generously improvised solutions. We learned this earlier in the struggle for power within the party, and fortunately, we have not forgotten it to this day. Our youth in governance is our chance and our advantage.

But on the other hand, we also have disadvantages to contend with. These hardly weigh seriously against the advantages, but they still deserve our attention because we must constantly deal with them and try to overcome them as much as possible. Our particular disadvantage is the fact of our still young national unity, which may be subjected to more trials and temptations than elsewhere. Peoples who completed their national unification process two or three centuries ago find this easier than we do. For them, national instinct is a matter of course, requiring no further discussion. They act politically because their entire character is political. Without much politicking, they do what appears necessary given the circumstances. Their greatest advantage is their trust in their own strength.

We Germans often need to be reminded of this. We do not yet feel entirely secure in the field of political decisions. This is because we unfortunately lack a rich store of experience. We have fought many wars in our history, but rarely one that concerned our most vital life interests. We never lacked the necessary courage and strength of heart to pass national tests, but often the equally necessary political instinct to push into the right path of purposeful and successful historical development. On the battlefield, we Germans have always been great, but often failed in the field of politics. Therefore, a political leadership class could hardly develop among us. It found no proper opportunity for action. After many setbacks, we gradually began to grow tired and resigned. The attempt at German parliamentarianism in the post-World War era was a complete farce. One sometimes had the impression of giving a child a pen without teaching it to write.

National Socialism was from the beginning an explicitly political movement. It set the broad masses of our people in motion because it appealed to an instinct that, despite all the stunting of the past, was still present in unexpected strength. It is also due to this that we under its leadership completed our national unification process in such a relatively short time, overcoming hardly any significant friction. The wounds of our former internal division healed quickly. But they are only scarred over. It will take a long time for smooth skin to grow over them again, with no trace of a crack. That we are a people today and fight our decisive struggle for destiny not as Prussians or Bavarians, not as Protestants or Catholics, and not as nationalists or socialists, but as a united German community—that is our greatest advantage over previous wars. And since this is the real reason for our chance of victory, it is also the reason why our enemies always make this fact the subject of their furious attacks. Mr. Churchill said as early as 1936 that the German people were becoming too strong for him. He could hardly have meant our armament, which was still in its infancy at the time. He meant our national unity, which was the root of our resulting military power.

If one has laboriously weaned a chain smoker off nicotine, it is wise not to constantly blow cigarette smoke under his nose. A people that lived for centuries in national discord and thus earned a sad reputation in the world despite all its otherwise excellent qualities has more to do for its national unity than other peoples who do not need this due to their historical development. This is not a reproach, but merely a statement. We must jealously guard our community. Whoever attacks or even questions it is our

enemy. He threatens our sure chance of victory. It does not matter which motives he puts forward. One can see this from the fact that the English, in their propaganda to undermine the German people, are anything but selective in their choice of arguments. They address workers as if they were the truest socialists; but they also address the better-off classes as if they were the only bulwark against even the slightest shift in property relations. This is, of course, all pure deception. They are neither the one nor the other; they are English, attacking our national unity to bring us down. Herein lies their only chance. They cannot defeat us militarily or economically. They could not do this even in the First World War. Our military and economic collapse back then was a consequence of our moral collapse. When the German people entered the famous last quarter hour and the strong heart was to be thrown into the scales as the decisive weight, its leadership failed and, as a logical consequence, so did the people themselves. We let ourselves be persuaded by our enemies, listened more to their deceitful and hypocritical phrases than to the voice of reason within us, and thereby lost trust in our own strength. This is always a fundamental prerequisite for victory.

Even in this war, there are periods when the chips fly. This is because the plane is in use. Clausewitz once said that a battle without a crisis is not a battle, but a skirmish. Our soldiers can report that before every successful breakthrough, before the decisive success of every encirclement, there comes an hour or a day or even a week of the highest physical and mental tension, in which difficulties pile upon difficulties and faint-hearted and despondent spirits are all too easily inclined to see only these difficulties and hardly any chance. They commit the greatest mistake: they distrust their own strength. If they become the majority, the chance passes. If they are covered by the unwaveringness of strong hearts, they sometimes turn overnight into historical victory.

US newspapers wrote with resignation a few days ago that the hope for a collapse of German morale must be definitively buried. The German people are in good spirits, and one must realize that they will successfully pass the tests of a mental nature to which they are subjected in this war. Although we do not usually place much value on the judgment of our enemies and do not want to draw too many conclusions from this, it is still a pleasing sign that this is beginning to be realized in the enemy's camp.

We find the German people today much more admirable than, for example, during the French offensive. When the radio brings a new special announcement every three hours, it is not difficult to firmly believe in victory. But to do the same when the gained territory must be stubbornly defended and the state and military leadership face new difficulties daily, that requires fortitude; and we Germans show this fortitude today.

It is not diminished by the fact that each of us sometimes feels the need to complain according to all the rules of the art. The reasons for this may be of one kind or another. One person complains about the cold, another about the lack of potatoes or coal, a third about overcrowded trains, a fourth about the Eastern Front, and a fifth about the war in North Africa. That is not so bad; we are all overworked and therefore a bit irritable. Ask a thousand Germans if they prefer peace to war, and they will unanimously answer: peace! Ask them further if they prefer to wage war or to give in, and they will also unanimously answer: wage war, as long as it takes.

This is the difference from 1917. Back then, large parts of the German people already wanted peace at any price. Today, the German people as a whole want peace only and exclusively through victory. Any Englishman or American who believes otherwise is under a dangerous delusion that he will have to abandon one day. To conduct a successful war, one does not need the people's love for war, but their belief in victory. And we Germans possess that belief today to the fullest extent. It is completely unshakeable. The enemy's propaganda aimed at undermining our inner unity and national morale cannot even scratch our skin, let alone pierce our hearts. We have become completely immune to it. The English would do well to invest the money spent on this in tanks or airplanes, which they so urgently need in North Africa and East Asia. With us, it is simply wasted.

Our national unity is not yet a matter of course—that is our disadvantage; but it is conscious, and that is our advantage. We all understand that it is the prerequisite for our victory. And the entire people want to win.

Not everyone knows exactly how we will win. But we all know how we would lose. Therefore, we face the problems of these difficult winter months with sovereign confidence. They will not overthrow us, but only

make us stronger. For unlike before, we Germans in this war have learned a virtue that makes us invincible: trust in our own strength.

A Look at the World Situation

February 15, 1942

Today, we can make a rough guess about how Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, and their cronies imagined the further development of events at the beginning of this winter. First, they believed that our troops in the East could be troubled by repeated offensives that paid no regard to human and material losses, causing the entire front against the Soviet Union to gradually falter. They openly expressed this in their news and propaganda services. They then hoped to break Finland out of the front of our allies, given the burden of such an infinitely extended and difficult war. Under the pressure of this process, the entire eastern front was expected to collapse. Then, perhaps, an invasion of Norway could be attempted from England. The response of the Norwegian people to this attempt would determine whether similar operations could be undertaken in other occupied territories. Since, as they believed, all available German troops had been thrown to the Eastern Front, such attempts would not involve too many dangers and risks. A general European popular uprising was expected to plunge the Axis powers into almost insurmountable difficulties. Europe would once again bow to the English yoke.

Meanwhile, General Auchinleck was to drive his British-Australian-Indian troops in North Africa beyond Tripoli to Tunis. This would provide an ideal base for a broad air offensive against Italy. They hoped the morale of the Italian people would collapse under the weight of this offensive. An invasion of Italy would then only be a matter of time. From there, they believed they could advance further into the European continent. Japan, in light of this development, would avoid actively intervening in the conflict and would swallow all extortionate demands of the British-American-Bolshevik alliance. An enormous increase in aircraft production was supposed to enable the enemy to launch massive aerial bombardments on German territory, initiating the attack on German morale. Stalin would continue to advance from the East, and then it would all be over again.

As stated, this is roughly how Mr. Churchill might have imagined it in his pitiful amateurism; it can hardly be doubted that he spread such and similar predictions in secret sessions of the English lower house and in the

leading political circles of London. How else could one explain the almost criminal carelessness with which the British press still predicted the outcome of this now dwindling winter in November and December of last year? Once again, they have counted their chickens before they hatched. Once again, in London, Washington, and Moscow, wishes and hopes have been confused with facts and realities. And now the opposite side is beginning to feel the blues, like a general infection taking hold of the minds.

This began with Japan's entry into the war. The blows that the brave Japanese soldiers dealt to British-American positions in East Asia right at the start of the conflict were stunning. The loss of Hong Kong made London seriously concerned for the first time. Now, the enemy powers are reeling from one crushing defeat to another in Far Eastern waters. Mr. Knox, the mouthpiece of the American president, who just days before the outbreak of the East Asian conflict loudly proclaimed that a war against Japan would be a kind of naval promenade for the American fleet and that the radical destruction of the enemy would take no more than three months, had to admit a few days ago that the US fleet was barely sufficient for one ocean, let alone two, and that the American public had no choice but to wait and be patient.

There is also a peculiar silence around the hundred thousand fighter planes that Mr. Roosevelt supposedly intended to produce out of thin air. Mr. Knox had to publicly confess that there was a lack of necessary workers. It was very difficult to get the technicians and fitters, these scoundrels, to work at night. They had plenty of airplane fuselages, but no engines. This sounds just like if we claimed our textile supply was in perfect order; we had no shortage of buttons to provide any German with as many new suits as they wanted, but unfortunately, we were lacking fabric.

American newspapers are desperately calling for the US Pacific fleet. Mr. Roosevelt, under the banner of the open and candid democratic news policy that supposedly distinguishes his regime from ours, has kept it a secret from his people that a significant part of it was already resting on the ocean floor at the outbreak of the Japanese-American war. Lacking real victories, which he promised in abundance before the war, he resorts to small lies and poor excuses. Almost every American war report starts with: "It is suspected" or "It is believed to know" or "Rumors say." Meanwhile, he hides behind military secrecy. But one cannot wage a war like this indefinitely, and

we foresee the moment approaching when the American public will demand facts instead of rhetoric. Then the hymn-singing will be over.

We wouldn't want to be in Mr. Churchill's shoes either. The British people are patient and long-suffering, but even their patience has limits. England's situation in East Asia is well-known. In recent weeks, it has been subjected to such severe shocks that for the first time, one had the impression that the British Empire might be wobbling. In this regard, the English are notoriously sensitive. Mr. Churchill can no longer excuse himself by saying that the material needed for East Asia was urgently needed on other battlefronts. He should tell us where these battlefronts are! North Africa, perhaps? There, the grand offensive, which he personally announced with much fanfare and which was supposed to lead the English to Tunis, has once again turned into one of those famous brilliant British retreats. The London press claimed that Auchinleck's troops had destroyed two-thirds of the Axis forces—it's hardly worth addressing the absurdity of such a statement—but the remaining third was still enough to chase the British troops through the desert at such a pace that Radio London quietly noted the English had covered up to 40 kilometers a day. Admittedly, on the run.

No laurels can be earned this way. Mr. Churchill will presumably not be able to avoid the painful duty of one day reporting that his predictions were incorrect: Japan did not wait for London and Washington to strangle it, but delivered powerful and, in part, stunning blows. The enormous stockpiles of weapons and ammunition that England and the USA intended to drown the Axis powers with still need to be produced; and how difficult and time-consuming that is, we know best from our own experience. In North Africa, they are not standing in Tunis as planned but on the opposite side entirely. There is no longer any talk of a large-scale air offensive against Italy, let alone an invasion. Neither Italian nor German morale has been shaken in the slightest; but in London, significant crises are appearing.

The last hope remains the Soviet Union. It is known that during his last visit to Moscow, Mr. Eden entrusted Stalin with the care, i.e., the Bolshevization, of Europe. But even the Nurembergers famously did not hang anyone unless they had him. The Bolshevik march on Berlin has been buried in the snowy and icy fields of the vast East. Even English newspapers now have to admit quietly that German resistance on the Eastern Front is so tough that no operational successes of the Bolsheviks can be expected in the

foreseeable future. The triumph over supposedly achieved Soviet victories in London has turned into fear of the coming German offensive. They look forward to the coming months with fear and horror. If General Winter, otherwise a declared ally of the English and Bolsheviks, has performed so poorly, what can be expected from spring and summer, which are known to be more Axis-friendly?

With this overview of the world situation, we can be extraordinarily satisfied. The worst of winter is behind us. It can still trouble and torment us for a few more weeks, but it can no longer pose any serious danger. Besides, its cold in mid-February, even at the same temperatures, is not as frightening as in December, because spring is already visibly close. We can admit that it caused us some worries. But we have largely dealt with them, and we will handle the rest as well. It did not overthrow us; on the contrary, we only tested and strengthened our resilience against it. Later, it will be one of the heroic memories in our history. It is doubtful whether the English can say the same about themselves. They have only waited, taken blows and defeats, lost key positions of their world dominance, and received empty rhetoric and poor excuses from their prime minister in return. If we compare the position of the Axis powers from November 1941 with today, we must conclude that not only have the fears held here and there not come true, but the position of the Axis powers in the world has strengthened, justifying all hopes for the coming spring and summer months.

Thus, the most dangerous bottleneck of the winter path has largely been crossed. We still have a small stretch of rough terrain ahead of us, and then it will be uphill again. So let us grit our teeth once more and take a courageous step. The great goal beckons on the summit.

Shadows Over the Empire

February 22, 1942

Mr. Cripps, who has transformed from an English ambassador in Moscow to a messenger of Stalin in London after his official duties in the Soviet Union, thus aligning himself closely with the currently directed Churchill course, recently made an astonishing statement in a radio address. This speech, because of its cynical tendency against Europe and its new order, caused significant attention worldwide and also in Great Britain. He stated that the English people are in no way aware of the seriousness and necessity of the situation they are currently living in and are maintaining an optimism that finds no justification in the situation itself. This does not surprise us. Since Mr. Churchill has been playing the role of the unrestricted dictator over England, a tactic of news policy has developed in London that not only conceals the heavy losses that the British Empire has continuously suffered since the beginning of this war but also systematically trivializes and belittles their value and potential impact. This may not be entirely without purpose and success for the moral stance of the English people in this war, but it also breeds a kind of purpose-driven optimism that, in the long run, completely obscures a sober view of the facts and thus brings about a development that must inevitably lead to the most severe crisis of the British Empire.

Elsewhere, too, people are often inclined to listen to such arguments. They counter the undeniable military successes of the Axis powers, which are now beginning to shake the British Empire to its core, with convenient and familiar excuses, such as that Great Britain has never been defeated in a war, that its economic power and worldwide capabilities are inexhaustible, that it always loses the first round only to then strike back properly in the second, and similar arguments. Aside from the fact that this is not entirely true and that England has lost almost as many wars in its history as it has won, it should also not be overlooked that the British Empire must be considered seriously endangered when it is struck at its roots and its far-flung parts around the globe can no longer receive the vital energy flows from the motherland needed to maintain their imperial function. The British Empire is not destined for eternity. The history of mankind knows a whole series of similar entities, which always disintegrated when the energies that had

founded them were no longer available for their defense. The extent to which this is still the case can be easily recognized by whether their representatives and leaders try to console themselves over vital losses with illusions and want to acknowledge the foundations of their existence, the results of bravery, also as the outcomes of cowardly and lax concessions.

Let us not be misunderstood: even the fall of Singapore, for example, which has plunged the English public into the deepest consternation, does not of course yet mean the end of the British Empire. But it is a step on that path. And the loss of this island fortress, which in London was believed to be impregnable until the last hour, is not the only one that England has suffered in this war. It is just one link in the long chain of successive setbacks for which Mr. Churchill, in his criminal dilettantism concerning British interests, has coined the technical term "brilliant retreats"; and taken as a whole, they can indeed cause considerable fear even to the most empire-believing Englishman.

It is always very useful, in political considerations concerning a larger complex or a more comprehensive development, to occasionally take a few steps back from the picture like a painter at his work and subject the overall situation to a critical examination with half-closed eyes.

Of course, Mr. Churchill is right when he declares that England will not perish today because it lost Singapore yesterday. But no one is claiming that, and that is not the point. Rather, we argue that the British Empire, despite all Churchill's attempts at whitewashing, has been on the downward slope of a continuous retreat throughout the war, that it is giving up one important power position of its imperial life after another, and one can with some certainty predict that one day the moment will come when it loses an indispensable prerequisite of its existence and runs out of breath. The fact that this takes a relatively long time cannot be considered proof against it either. Empires do not fall in days, weeks, or months. They sometimes continue to live for a considerable time out of sheer inertia when, historically speaking, they have already abdicated. And this seems to us to be the case with England to some extent today.

One only has to consider for what goals Great Britain declared war on the Reich in September 1939 and compare that with what goals it is forced to fight for today, and one will understand what we mean. At that time, it

wanted to prevent Danzig from coming to Germany and the Reich from getting a connection to its separated province of East Prussia through a highway over the corridor. It would have been absurd to imagine in those tension-filled days that Great Britain would be trembling for India after two and a half years of war. Most of what England considered the prerequisites of its national security in September 1939 it has long since lost. Our endangered flank in the north is covered. The Netherlands and Belgium no longer serve as staging grounds against the European continent. The British mainland sword, France, is broken, the threat from the Axis powers from the southeast is definitively eliminated. The Soviet Union no longer has the strength to turn the tide of the war for the enemy side. England's transport routes are endangered on all the world's oceans. The United States is struggling in East Asia for its overseas positions, and the British Empire is losing bases there that have always been regarded not only by us but also and especially by England itself as the most fundamental prerequisites of British power and wealth. Great Britain is currently living off the substance of its national prestige acquired over several centuries, and its empire exists in part, as absurd as it may sound, only on paper.

How can England not lose the war in view of this situation? A reference to its supposedly inexhaustible resources does not impress us anymore, for we probably know better than most Englishmen that London is only able to mobilize and exploit these resources to a certain extent under the current circumstances.

And there is no sign that the generally declining trend for England will reverse in the foreseeable future. On the contrary, everything suggests that the time Mr. Churchill always claimed as an ally for Great Britain is now beginning to shift towards the Axis powers.

Even the most blindly faithful supporter of the current political and military course in London will have to admit to us in private that most of the power positions England is currently losing can never be regained. Because the British people did not wrest them in equal battle from the great powers that hold them today, but rather pocketed them without much fuss when Japan was still asleep and Germany and Italy were so preoccupied with their internal political unification process that they had little time left to attend to their global interests. That is different today. England faces three great powers, armed to the teeth, whose leaders and peoples know full well that

they are fighting for their lives. If Great Britain does not have the strength to defend its decisive power positions against them, where will it get the strength to wrest them back once it has lost them?

We are not the kind of opportunists who see every victory as the complete defeat of the enemy and are just as quick to throw in the towel at the first setback. In the constant ups and downs of political developments over the past twenty years, we have become accustomed to facing the decisions of the time with a cool realism that does not prevent us from sensing the trends and laws of their development. It is not our place to give the English good advice or to make their worries about their empire our own.

There was a time when we did not see the existence of the British Empire as an obstacle to German global significance. That time is long past. Mr. Churchill has squandered the chance that England thereby possessed in Europe and the world. We face the process of the gradual erosion of the British Empire with the cool composure of a historical critic, apart from the fact that as long as Mr. Churchill and his kind are at the helm in London, its decay is the prerequisite for our victory. But if we were today citizens of the Empire, we would see many symptoms of an increasing English malaise in the current world situation, which would have to fill us with the deepest concern. We have often stated that the English people will one day have every reason to curse Mr. Churchill and his almost criminal policy for the British Empire and bid him farewell with all conceivable curses. If the empire collapses due to the excessive strain on its vital organs, its current prime minister will be able to claim the dubious honor of having caused its demise.

We have no doubt that even after the loss of Singapore, he will soon regain the upper hand—and that is already happening to some extent. His bought press is already making it clear to the English public that Singapore only had value if a fleet was stationed there, and since there is no longer a significant fleet in East Asian waters after the loss of the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse," why would they need a naval base? With such a mendacious argument, one could indeed resurrect a dead man; but nevertheless, he remains dead.

We hardly need to exaggerate when we state with the necessary objectivity that dark shadows hang over the British Empire. A dizzying

historical development is breaking its way. It takes its time, but it is unstoppable. Empires fall, empires are in the making.

Let us thank God that we are rising while others are sinking.

Churchill's Trick

March 1, 1942

In recent days, particularly in neutral foreign countries, the question has frequently arisen as to what exactly constitutes the effect of Mr. Churchill on the English public and British public opinion. Despite the harshest setbacks and most humiliating defeats, this cunning word-twister always manages to rally the public to support his seemingly entirely amateurish policies and war strategies. This question is as easy to answer as it is difficult. The solution to this supposed mystery likely lies in the fact that Mr. Churchill, lacking any significant strategic or operational talent both in political and military warfare, is an extraordinarily skilled tactician. He masters the basics of democratic party and press manipulation with a certain virtuosity and thus stands out among the current English politicians, who are not known for their excessive intelligence, as a rare bird. His success system is exceedingly primitive. He is not even original in his ideas, and thus it is often possible to predict with some certainty what he will say or do in a given situation. He always follows the same old pattern.

Right from the start of his tenure as British Prime Minister, he issued a slogan for his war strategy that effectively shields him from criticism regardless of the political or military events, setbacks, or any conceivable defeats: "Blood, sweat, and tears." This allows him to conduct and endure a war to the point of self-destruction without the risk of ever being contradicted. In times of victory, his people will never remind him of this slogan or demand its fulfillment; in times of defeat, he can always point to it in the pose of a superior and farsighted prophet. Mr. Churchill is like a doctor whose trick is to approach the bedside of a seriously ill patient with the prognosis: "He will die!" If the patient's condition worsens or he actually dies, the doctor is vindicated and will not fail to remind everyone of the accuracy of his diagnosis. If the patient's condition improves and he eventually recovers, who would blame the doctor for having healed him despite the worst outlook?

One cannot claim that such a practice is particularly ingenious or even original. But it still finds its audience. So far, Mr. Churchill has

managed to muddle through with this approach. Therefore, one does not need to be a prophet but simply know his trick to predict that, in the face of the terrible setbacks and defeats the British Empire has suffered in the past four weeks, he will appeal to the English public by pointing out that this was exactly what he expected and predicted. One stands in awe of his foresight.

We would do well to calculate in advance the speeches Mr. Churchill will give in about two months to understand what he intends to say today. It is his tactic to paint the past in the darkest colors to then find a silver lining on the present's horizon. No one will find a speech from him, say from August of the previous year, where he described the situation in gray tones. How gloomy he saw the situation at that time can only be determined by comparing it to how he describes today. He follows the method of painting the past darker than it was to make the present seem brighter than it is. He admits: we are doing poorly, but adds: we were doing even worse. This is not true, but he relies on his audience's forgetfulness, who naturally cannot and do not want to bother to check what he actually said in August of the previous year and compare it with what he says today.

In addition, he claims time as a traditional ally of the enemy side. No one will deny that time, over the two and a half years of the war, has proven to be a very unfaithful and unreliable ally, especially for the English, whose situation in 1942 is much more precarious than it was in 1939 or 1940. There is also no reason to believe that time will work more successfully for England in the future than it has in the past. Every month, almost every week, Great Britain loses one of its important power positions, and it would take a great deal of recklessness to believe that England will ever possess the power to reclaim the lost positions during or after the war.

In 1939, Mr. Churchill pointed to 1940; in 1940, he pointed to 1942; in 1942, he is already pointing to 1945 when England will finally take the field. Note the constantly growing intervals in his time estimates, stemming from the British Prime Minister's clear realization that the British Empire is bound hand and foot and can only be saved through a miracle, not by the exercise of power.

In this context, it was extraordinarily characteristic that Mr. Churchill, in his last radio address, was no longer able to cite a single argument stemming from British power. He pointed to the United States, the

Soviet Union, and Chiang Kai-shek. There was hardly any mention of Great Britain. The Empire apparently is no longer capable of making a significant contribution to its own defense in a war that concerns its survival and which its current Prime Minister provoked without any apparent reason and despite the most inadequate preparation. Accordingly, one must also assess the contribution London makes in this war, both in terms of blood and labor.

The outrage among England's allies over the wholly inadequate contribution Britain is making to the war effort is widespread. Mr. Churchill must defend himself against accusations, such as those made publicly in Australia, with artificially fabricated statistics. No one believes him. One can only marvel at the recklessness, if not to say cynicism, with which a war was not only begun but also conducted.

We can only welcome this. We do not argue against it to improve anything here, but only to reveal the so-called Churchill mystery, which is not a mystery at all but a primitive charlatan's trick. We know very well that this unfortunate man is also the last hope of the Empire in its current situation and that he cannot be overthrown despite all hidden and open opposition throughout the House of Commons simply because there is no one to replace him. He embodies the curse of the evil deed that must continue to give birth to evil. If he falls, a significant part of Britain's will to resist will also fall. Even the man on the street in England has a vague feeling that this war is truly Churchill's war, that he started it, and therefore, if necessary, must continue it to the bitter end for the Empire. Hence his repeated appeal for national unity. He wields the instrument of a parliamentary vote of confidence like a weapon of self-defense, which he always draws when his life is threatened.

He has devised an extraordinarily refined system to let public anger against him and his policies and war strategies be vented through a kind of fake criticism. If the Empire is struck by a numbing blow, he always cunningly retreats into the background for a while to let the street speak. He thus opens the safety valves, allowing the pent-up steam of popular anger to hiss out.

One should not believe that this only happens against his will; it is largely a game with assigned roles. He counts on even the loudest throats eventually becoming hoarse. When the so-called Churchill crisis reaches its

peak, he appears on the scene like a deus ex machina. He calms the waves, waters down the wine, trivializes and belittles the defeats, explaining that he had foreseen and predicted it all, more than that, he had expected worse, which fortunately did not happen with God's help. One should be glad it rained rather than hailed. Although Singapore was lost, he had already reckoned with the loss of India. The fact that the German naval forces majestically passed through the Channel should be seen more as an advantage than a disadvantage for England. He is so full of deceit that the gullible might almost believe London's claim that the Royal Air Force, with 600 aircraft, stormed our warships and lost 49 to drive them into German ports. And besides, if things are going badly in East Asia, which should not be disputed, they are going well in the East. The year 1942, as he predicted — he certainly did not predict it, but claimed the opposite! — is difficult; perhaps salvation will come in 1943 or maybe not until 1945. In the meantime, it is essential to maintain national unity, of which he is the personal guarantor, and anyone attacking him proves they are not English.

In any other country, such a procedure would be unthinkable. A prime minister with so many failures, so many false forecasts, and empty promises, none of which come true, would be booed off the stage anywhere else in the world. The English people put up with Churchill. He is their curse, their evil spirit, a man who has all the makings of playing the gravedigger at the catastrophe of Great Britain.

We could not wish for a better opponent. If the Axis powers cannot achieve victory other than through the collapse of the British Empire, then Mr. Churchill is just right for us. This war has not ended in the first round with a sudden knockout blow; it must be fought through in several rounds. The main thing is to slowly but surely wear down the opponent with dangerous blows. Occasionally, just as he is about to fall, he will be saved by the bell; then a new round must begin. The decisive second will come when he falls to the ground as if struck by lightning. We do not know when this will happen, but we know that it will happen. A prime minister who leads an empire into such danger is an immeasurable gain for his opponents.

We can only congratulate ourselves on this Churchill. He should not be wished away; he should be wrapped in cotton wool because he is the trailblazer for our total and radical victory.

The Faithful Helper

March 1, 1942

Today, we once again address the countless listeners of German radio at the front and at home, or rather, the entire German nation, as there is probably no one during this war who tries to do without the radio. This is not because of any pressing current reason, but simply from the conviction that it is necessary from time to time to explain the fundamental principles and determining tendencies of our radio programming to a broader public with complete candor. Our extensive engagement with the problems of radio, both before and, to a greater extent, after we came to power, has taught us that radio programming is less a matter of well-intentioned theory and more a matter of practice, and that no radio program can satisfy everyone. The suggestions that have been coming to us for years from all quarters of the public regarding radio programming often lose much of their value simply because they almost always refer to completely different parts of the program and thus mostly cancel each other out. One person thinks there's too much serious, another too much light and relaxing music; a third wants more, a fourth wants no word broadcasts at all; a fifth wants to end the broadcasts at 10 PM, while a sixth wants them to start at 10 PM. So, it's impossible to please everyone.

The solution to this complicated problem would be much simpler if we had twelve or fourteen transmitters available, as in peacetime, and could distribute the various tasks of the radio program among them. But today, it is already a great difficulty to maintain even a single broadcasting operation fully. We know very well that many listeners sigh in frustration when the most beautiful entertainment program is interrupted by our news service in English. But we cannot change that either. In wartime, even more so than in normal times, the interests of our politics take precedence over the legitimate interests of private life. Passionate letters and petitions from lovers of serious music tell us that, as they describe, light and more entertaining music is gradually becoming too much for them. Some even see it as a sign of general cultural decline, which must be combated with all might. Soldiers from the front, on the other hand, tell us how good it felt to them, after a hard and difficult day, to hear at least some decent, i.e., entertaining and light music

from the Germany station in their cold and inhospitable quarters in the evening.

Who is right here, and who is wrong? Undoubtedly, everyone in their own way! But it is undeniable that the vast majority of our people, both at the front and at home, are so affected by the war today that they simply no longer have the concentration ability in the evening to absorb a demanding program for two hours or more. Don't object that we are trying to avoid the seriousness of the war through this. We don't need to go looking for the seriousness of the war in the radio entertainment program; it finds us anyway, and more than we like. If one has worked 12 or 14 hours or more during the day as an intellectual worker and is dead tired at night, flipping through a book or a memo, then one doesn't want any music at all, or if so, only such that requires no effort, i.e., that obliges nothing. We are not doing an injustice to Beethoven or Bruckner, who can only be insulted by being listened to yawning. It is probably no different for our soldiers and workers. So don't talk about cultural decline here. Today, we serve German and Western culture best by winning the war. And with the heavy burdens we all face daily because of it, a small, pleasant encouragement, from wherever it may come, acts like balm on the wounds that everyday life inflicts on us.

In this context, we also want to address the question of whether German radio should broadcast so-called jazz music. If one understands jazz music as music that entirely neglects or even mocks melody and focuses solely on rhythm, where the rhythm is primarily conveyed through unpleasant sounding instrument squeaks that offend the ears, then we can only categorically reject this question. This so-called music is hateful because it is not music at all but only a talentless and unimaginative play with sounds. On the other hand, one should not demand that the waltz of our grandparents should be the end of musical development and that everything beyond it is evil. Rhythm is also a fundamental element of music. We do not live in the Biedermeier era, but in a century whose melody is determined by the myriad hums of machines and the roar of engines. Our war songs today also have a different tempo than even those of the World War. Radio must duly consider this fact if it does not want to risk remaining stuck in the past. We do not mean to offend anyone with these statements but feel obligated to take into account the justified demands of our fighting and working people even in this regard.

Of course, occasional missteps happen everywhere. German radio must speak to the people from early morning until late at night. A normal person talks for perhaps two or three hours a day in total, and even then, it is not all wisdom that they speak. They only have the advantage that usually only a few people listen to them: their spouse or a few colleagues. But the radio always speaks to the broadest public. If a speaker or announcer makes even one slightly unfortunate remark, it immediately results in phone calls or complaint letters. Our desk is practically on Wilhelmplatz, and everyone has the right to look over our shoulders while we work. Not that we shy away from this; on the contrary, we are happy to be able to work in front of the eyes of the whole nation. But the public should not forget that radio, like any other institution that does not stand before the broadest public as it does, has the right to make occasional mistakes.

After much preparatory work, we have now succeeded in broadcasting two program sequences again during the main broadcasting hours. We refrain from detailing how much effort this took. We are now in the fortunate position of being able to better satisfy both sides. The Germany station will primarily focus on serious, elevated, and classical music in the future, while the other Reich stations will mainly offer lighter entertainment in the evening hours. We have managed to recruit a number of prominent musicians for this task. Some are giving up a large part of their creative work to devote themselves almost exclusively to the care of the radio program. They have been provided with precise guidelines to ensure that all justified wishes are taken into account as far as possible. The listeners of German radio can be assured that we know exactly what they are entitled to expect in this time. They thankfully always tell us this very frankly, for which we can only thank them.

We are not so far removed from the concerns of the people that we do not know where the shoe pinches us all. Our soldiers do not mince their words either but write to us in their field post letters or tell us during their visits exactly what they want and what they don't want. We try to put all this into practice. No effort, no means, and no money are spared. Good cheer is also crucial for the war effort. Maintaining it, especially when we have to bear particularly heavy burdens, is an urgent requirement for successful war conduct at the front and at home.

Some people go too far in their demands. Recently, for example, a listener of German radio was outraged in a letter to us that an officer from the Northern Front used a certain expression from "Götz von Berlichingen" in a radio lecture. The writer was, as he literally states, in the appalling position of hearing this expression with his wife. "That a Goethe," the letter continues, "this in many respects dubious character, included it in his play out of vain and coquettish prejudice makes it no more acceptable in my eyes. I would like to know what satisfaction the OKW or the Propaganda Ministry intends to give to those who were unprepared listeners to this vulgar, undoubtedly characteristic lapse before the public in a government-supervised institution."

We receive such letters too. Unfortunately, we cannot comply with them. Should we ask General Dietl to send his deserving officers to an institute for good manners for some time to refine their somewhat roughened soldier language acquired in the wilderness of the Northern Front? He would probably laugh at us, and rightly so. On the contrary, we would personally listen to a report from this great officer for an hour and hear with pride and satisfaction that our soldiers at the Northern Front, despite snow and ice and eternal night, bravely and faithfully perform their duty and more; and when he tells us that their only connection with home, from which they have lived and fought many thousands of kilometers away for many months, is German radio, then that strengthens our resolve to send even more of what cheers them up, encourages them, dispels occasional gloom, and lifts their spirits over the airwaves.

War is a harsh affair. And if our soldiers had not held their ground this winter, the writer of the mentioned letter, along with his wife, would probably have become unprepared listeners, and perhaps viewers, and subjects of entirely different things than he describes here.

So, the moral is: German radio cannot make everyone happy. But it should try to please as many as possible, especially those who have the most right to it, namely our soldiers and all those who work hard and expend all their energy in the service of the fatherland. They are grateful for every enjoyable, entertaining hour. For them, it is a source of joy, a good friend and comrade in these difficult times, an encouragement and a spur, a constant companion through the perils of war. It should educate and enlighten on the great questions of the time. When the moment comes, it should lift hearts and rouse consciences. It should attack the enemy wherever they appear. It should

defend the interests of the fatherland when necessary. It should take seriousness seriously and lightness lightly. One cannot always be in high spirits. What we need is patriotism, enthusiasm, and a sense of duty for everyday life. The great moments of our time will announce themselves; we don't need to constantly conjure them up anew. But we also need to shape everyday life, which is sometimes gray and anything but beautiful.

In this, German radio should be a faithful helper.

A Word to Everyone

March 8, 1942

The German people are currently engaged in a total war. This war concerns our national survival and, in most cases, our individual lives in the broadest sense of the word. No one among us doubts anymore that, just as victory will fulfill all our national wishes and hopes, losing the war would mean the end of our Reich, with all the ensuing political, military, economic, social, and cultural consequences. It is good that everyone understands this, as it strengthens our resolve, our national self-confidence, and our determination. We did not want this war; we were forced into it. Now that it is upon us, every German man and woman must be determined to turn it into the great opportunity of our national history.

This is a people's war; that means, just as it is waged by the enemy against the German people, we must fight it not only for the whole people but also with the whole people. Just as we will all enjoy the victory, we must all today adhere to the laws of war, fighting it at our respective places as if it were our own personal affair. Nothing else of significant importance exists beyond it.

It is thus entirely wrong to adopt an attitude that places the burden of the fight on the front, while a small part of the homeland has the right to sit in the stands. The homeland must also fight the war in its entirety, albeit in a different manner than the front. The front hardly needs to be reminded that there is a war since it faces it daily and hourly in its harshest form. However, the homeland needs to be reminded of this repeatedly. It is not enough for the homeland to fulfill its duty; it must do more. How exactly this is to be done cannot be dictated by laws and regulations; it is a matter of the categorical imperative, the demands of which each person must determine from their own conscience. In any case, there is no German today who is not responsible for achieving victory.

The longer this war lasts, the more decisive the efficient and rational use of the people's labor force becomes for its outcome. Our enemies take pride in having larger masses of people at their disposal. But aside from the

fact that, in the end, it is not just quantity but also quality that matters, the organization and rational use of the human labor force deployed are also crucial. We will overcome the enemy if we develop the better work system, meaning avoiding any idle work to the greatest extent possible and designing the work process so that every action has its purpose and leads to the highest possible effect. It would be nonsense to believe that this is solely a matter for the legislators. National work is divided into so many individual components and shows so many different aspects that only the general work discipline of the entire population can lead to the desired goal. We do not lack raw materials to bring our armament to the highest possible level. The only scarce resource, as everywhere else, is the most precious raw material needed for production: human labor.

No one will want to raise the accusation that this raw material is consciously misused or wasted anywhere. However, it is also undeniable that in some respects, we are still too much caught up in peacetime notions that no longer apply to the current situation.

We are at war, and in war, there is a reevaluation of values everywhere, including in the work process. If each of us were to seriously and conscientiously ask whether our labor is currently being used and exploited in such a way that no higher effect could be achieved even with the best will, many people would undoubtedly conclude that, with some effort, they could probably achieve three, five, or ten percent more, and a few even one hundred percent more. What this would mean for our war economy is incalculable.

We should not be misunderstood. We are the last to advocate for a soulless exploitation of people, which would ultimately only consume the substance of their labor. We also know that large professional groups, such as miners and steelworkers, are performing admirably in the war and can hardly be surpassed. But we also know that there are still people today who allow themselves the luxury of inefficient idle work, which can no longer be justified in the face of wartime requirements. Here we must take action, following the principle of whether work is important for the war or not. No one denies a highly cultured and social nation the benefits of a peaceful and secure life; but in war, they are only allowed if they are necessary to maintain the physical and mental resilience and working capacity of the people. It is not widely known that, in the third year of war, we Germans still enjoy a

standard of living that is far above the peacetime standard of most European nations. Despite the enormous restrictions imposed by the war, more tobacco and butter, for example, per capita were available in 1941 than in 1932. At the end of 1932, we had 7 million unemployed. Including their family members, this amounted to about 20 million people. A third of the population was then, as can easily be calculated, unable to buy what is available to everyone today simply based on their ration cards, not to mention rent and similar expenses.

These are facts that cannot be denied. We have just too easily and quickly forgotten them. The fact that we lived better in 1938 than in 1932 was also an achievement of the National Socialist revolution, and it must be defended in this war, among many other things. When the government strives today to make the war as bearable as possible for the homeland, this effort naturally has its limit where it begins to conflict with the war's requirements. Other great nations, such as the French or the peoples of the Soviet Union, must make far greater sacrifices for the war than we do, and they have either lost it or will lose it. Therefore, for example, there can be no discussion today that no one has the right or can claim the right to spend their earned money on goods. They are simply not available. They are missing because weapons and ammunition are being produced instead. These are produced so that our soldiers can win the war; and we want to win the war mainly because we not only want to regain our standard of living from 1938 or 1939 but also significantly improve it for the entire nation.

When the Führer, on January 30th, in his speech at the Berlin Sportpalast, called on the German people to work and produce weapons and ammunition, there was a deeper meaning to it. Despite everything, we all must try to increase our output, and not just that, we must also simplify our work and lives in the most generous way possible. This mainly concerns the better-off circles. We do not even want to point to the example of our soldiers, who, regardless of rank and person, are forced to live in the most primitive manner and still face death. We do not consider it worthy of the homeland to need to be reminded of its wartime duties by the front. It must recognize and fulfill these out of its own volition. It owes it to itself.

A generous simplification of administration, which has adapted and is still adapting our entire state and bureaucratic apparatus to the pure requirements of the war, is intended to set an example here. In peacetime, we

could afford many things that were useful and pleasant but are not absolutely necessary for warfare. They consume people, and people are lacking everywhere today. Here too, it has become necessary to bid farewell to peace, not just for the administration but also for the public. Paperwork has lost its meaning when a war of guns and tanks is fought for the people's survival. A kind of self-reliance must take hold, putting everyone back on their own feet and freeing them from the fatal misconception that the father state is responsible for every shortcoming and, in the end, even for the weather. We must free ourselves from the illusion that everything could and should be regulated by law or decree and build our public and private lives more than ever on the natural laws of national discipline, which are self-evident at the front and need no lengthy discussion.

All this requires a further adjustment of our entire attitude towards the war. It will make things harder but also clearer. If we manage, in addition, to show a bit more consideration and politeness towards each other, then we will have adopted an attitude towards the war that is entirely unassailable. We fully understand that many of us are somewhat overworked and therefore more irritable than usual. But that is no excuse for anyone to parade their bad mood from early morning until late at night. A nice, friendly, and encouraging word in the right place often works wonders, even on an annoyed person, just as a grumpy demeanor spreads gloom everywhere. A joker in a company is priceless. A tram conductor who barks at his passengers and wants to play the little dictator based on his unlimited authority has missed his calling. One who performs his duty with politeness or even with a sense of humor and good cheer despite the harshness of wartime is a godsend, the darling of the traveling public, and a ray of sunshine in the gray winter sky.

Consideration and courtesy, clever common sense, friendliness, helpfulness, humor, and good cheer are wartime assets that cost nothing but are very important and should be available in any quantity. A salesgirl in a shoe store who, in response to a mother’s modest request for a pair of shoes for her daughter, says: "So would I," instead of kindly explaining that they are not in stock at the moment but might come in in two weeks, is a foolish girl who does not realize the harm she causes. Her boss must correct her stance; for she too has no right to trample on the public’s needs.

So, let us all make a concerted effort and firmly resolve: to try to do even more than before, to organize our work as efficiently as possible, to eliminate everything superfluous and irrelevant to

the war, to talk less about the war and fight more, to be considerate and polite to each other, to follow the example of our soldiers, to maintain good conduct in all situations, to approach the day's difficulties with calm and determination, and to let nothing disturb our composure.

In a word, to become a war people even on the home front.

The Creeping Crisis

March 15, 1942

No special gift of prophecy is needed to ascertain that Great Britain is currently in, if not the decisive crisis of its historical existence. This crisis is directed both internally and externally, and it proves nothing against its presence or the dangers within it that the English do not yet want to admit it or that it unfolds in prolonged intervals. We have often emphasized that empires, just as they need time to build, also need a corresponding time to dismantle. This does not happen in weeks or months, and historically speaking, the rapid pace of such a decline can only be recognized when comparing its various stages over years or even decades. The fact that those affected do not want to see such a process is more proof for than against its existence. Their ignorance only paralyzes the available resistance forces and thus accelerates a development that is truly staggering in its ominous historical consistency.

Consider this: In September 1939, England declared war on Germany to prevent the German city of Danzig from rejoining the motherland and to deny Poland the concession of an autobahn through the corridor to the Reich. Today, the British government must make it clear to the English people that Britain can only expect help in its dire straits from the USA and the Soviet Union, that it must inevitably abandon its positions in East Asia, that a British Empire as it existed before the war will not return after the war, that there is every reason to fear for the possession of India, and that something, anything, must happen to counteract the paralyzing pessimism that has gripped the British public. A few days ago, a London magazine, which can be seen as a barometer of mood in England, wrote that dark days had dawned for Britain in the realm of news. Not only were there too many news reports, but most of these reports were also unfavorable for England. Only philosophy could help and the hope that bad times would eventually come to an end. There had never been a case where it had not stopped raining in the end.

This is how England thinks today. One must admit that such an attitude is precisely one in which a nation is all too easily inclined to give up

one position of its world power after another and console itself with philosophy over the losses suffered. This is the resignation that leads to continuous surrender and ultimately ends in catastrophe. We repeat once again that this process cannot be measured with a yardstick. But it unfolds like all great historical declines with an eerie consistency. One occasionally hears the creaking in the beams of the once proud edifice, how a piece crumbles or falls off here and there, how a relatively long period of apparent calm then sets in, only to be replaced again by a period of alarming collapses.

The resistance of a living being—and a state is also such a being—lasts longer the more time has been spent bringing it to the peak of its resilience. But once the collapse begins, it gains speed. When a person is marked for death, perhaps because internal organs are so destroyed that they can only be kept alive by artificial means, this does not mean they will die today or tomorrow. It sometimes lasts for weeks or months. During this time, the observer witnesses the most varied periods of a perpetual up and down in their struggle with death. Least of all does the patient himself want to believe that there is no more hope for him. He tries to delude himself about the seriousness of his condition with the silliest excuses and believes that by particularly defiant resistance he can cheat death. Perhaps he also hopes, like that London magazine, to help himself with philosophy, believing that bad times will be followed by good ones, and similar thoughts.

Meanwhile, the disease relentlessly continues its gnawing work of destruction, and one day the bitter hour comes when there is no more escape, when all vain hopes and self-deceptions come to an end and the doomed one stands alone and defenseless before his merciless fate.

We do not make light of prophecies and flatter ourselves that we have never made one during this war that was contradicted by developments. Even at the risk that the prophecy made here will not come true in a few weeks or months, we hold fast to the thesis that the British Empire is today in a deadly struggle for its existence, that the twilight over the Empire resembles a creeping crisis more chronic than acute, that this will lead more and more to increasingly frequent fainting spells, eventually culminating in a catastrophic earthquake-like upheaval.

Follow the retreat stages of General Wavell, whom British propaganda services have elevated to a new Napoleon, to effortlessly trace

the misfortunes of the British Empire. It is a long way from Benghazi to Calcutta, and it almost takes one's breath away to observe that the official public opinion in England still strews this path with the flowers of resignation for the general of eternal defeats. How much longer will it be, many in neutral countries ask today, before Mr. Churchill must explain to his people that the situation in Australia or India is serious but not hopeless, only to confess in Parliament that one or both have been lost, but hope lies in 1945 to take revenge on the Axis powers. Is this not also the behavior of a patient trying to muddle through from crisis to crisis, only to one day bow his head and die?

Much is made in London of the latest cabinet reshuffle—how many has it been, and with what advance accolades was each one bestowed! Fresh blood has been brought into the government, it is said. They will now go on the offensive and strike the enemy wherever they find him. For now, they have only dared a rather adventurous parachute operation of the smallest scale in occupied France, which had to be abandoned after two hours, and expressed sympathy to the citizens of Paris by dropping bombs that cost over 600 French lives, leaving them to die sullied by the cynical scorn of their former allies. Understandably, this has no significance for the conduct of the war itself. But the patient must feign life and initiative so that one does not lose faith in his resilience.

In London, Mr. Cripps has been called into the cabinet. He is supposed to restore contact with the working masses, they say. We Germans know a similar experiment from the World War, where we also tried to shore up the slowly wavering bourgeois front by incorporating Marxist-Bolshevist forces. The German nation had to pay dearly for this attempt. At that time, we were in this creeping crisis, which slowly but surely headed towards its tragic climax, only to culminate in a horrific catastrophe. We observe with some amazement how Mr. Cripps mobilizes the revolutionary elements in the slums, how the chaotic forces of increasing Bolshevisation line up behind his back and under his protection with the express intention of marching one day. In wartime, such a development usually progresses much faster than in normal times. Hatred is always a poor counselor in politics; and if British plutocracy wishes Bolshevism upon us because they see no other way to hit us, they might as well watch out that they themselves are not devoured by the specter they are trying to summon against us.

It is not our job to worry about the British Empire. But if we were English today, we would have no peace of mind. We would only listen with dismay to the stupid and silly excuses Mr. Churchill uses to belittle the crushing losses of the empire. In this threatening situation, we would think it appropriate not to remain silent, but to call out, to scream, that the British Empire is in its death throes and that one must at least try to save what can still be saved.

But as we said, we have no reason to do so because it is not our duty. We are merely stating facts. As tragic as such a process may seem historically, it is necessary and inevitable. It would be entirely pointless to try to counteract it. Mr. Churchill made his decision in the name of England when he declared war on the Reich over Danzig despite the most favorable German offers, hoping we would collapse. He decided in the name of England when he cynically rejected the peace hand extended by the Führer both after the Polish campaign and after the West offensive. He threw the British Empire, which was not even in question and could have remained completely outside the great power game, into the scales of decision, and now he will lose it. The fate he invoked is taking its course.

We strive to view things from a higher vantage point. We do not describe what happened yesterday or what will happen tomorrow; we seek to understand the underlying forces and recognize a deeper meaning in the exciting and often painful events of our time. Politics and warfare are becoming history. Even historical epochs have their beginning and their end. When one stands in the midst of their unfolding, it is difficult to determine where they begin and where they will end. Fate does not only take straight paths but also crooked ones. But they all lead to the goal. In September 1939, we began the march into the dark uncertainty. At that time, no one knew where the journey would lead. Today we already see light on the horizon. The illness of our enemies is our own healing. What they intended for us will be their own undoing. Great times lie behind us; greater times lie ahead.

Let us take our hearts in both hands and boldly stride towards the beckoning future.

New Perspectives

March 22, 1942

According to the calendar, winter ends today and spring begins. Whether nature intends to take immediate and proper notice of this fact is of secondary importance when assessing the overall military and political situation. It can no longer be disputed that we have managed, as a major neutral newspaper recently wrote, to avoid the mistakes Napoleon made in his winter campaign against Russia and to achieve and even surpass everything we set out to hold during these difficult months. It need not be hidden how immense the difficulties were that had to be overcome. Detailing them will be the task of future historians. But even so, our people know what problems German warfare faced during this exceptionally harsh winter and the daily renewed efforts required to cope with them. But now it is over, and soon the time will come when yesterday's worries and burdens will become our proud memories of today.

We believe we have some right to doubt that the same applies to the enemy side. If we were able to hold everything we set out to hold over the winter, our opponents not only failed to achieve what they intended but also lost more than they thought possible at the beginning of this winter. The blows, for example, that struck the British Empire in December, January, and February were historically almost fatal. One only needs to consider with what hopes London began this winter and with what disappointments it must now end it, to realize that the pace of the English disease is truly breathtaking. If there were just one man across the Channel with common sense who had the courage and the opportunity to speak openly about what every Englishman probably senses, it would likely cause a sudden awakening throughout the British people. But it also proves true that those whom God wishes to punish, he first strikes with blindness.

It would be unbecoming of us and would only diminish the glory of our warfare at the front and at home if we now, having overcome the worst, tried to create the impression that our difficulties this winter were just child's play. This is not the case at all. Even though we did not constantly talk about them and were too proud to air our grievances, they were present and still are

to a considerable extent. Our people know this very well. They have felt a large part of it themselves; they have also understood the sometimes sparse reports from the OKW. We all clenched our teeth this winter and formed a kind of unspoken comradeship. With what misguided notions of the war did some of us enter this winter, and how realistic and sober we all view the situation now that it is over. The German people have undergone a great inner transformation in these few months. While half a year ago, some expressed the opinion that it would be best to end the war as quickly as possible, even if some problems were only partially or not at all solved, today we are in the middle of the war, and everyone wants it to end with a complete victory.

The sacrifices made by the front and the burdens borne by the home front were extraordinary. If we did not make as much fuss about them in the press and on the radio as they deserved, it was not because we were unaware of them. On the contrary, the leadership at the front and at home was tirelessly active in making them bearable to some extent, in healing the wounds inflicted on us, in countering the adversities of the day with all their might, in slowly dispelling anger, discontent, and bad moods, in talking about something other than war after battle and hard work, and in showing the people repeatedly that everything was at stake and that the more or less strong demands of the day should not be unnecessarily dramatized, that the war was terrible, but that there were worse things that must never be questioned for us all.

It was an eternal defense against the dark forces that stormed against the nation in the hope of finding us weak at some point. When the history of this war is written, a special chapter must be dedicated to the past winter. Perhaps it will even be historically rated higher than the summer of 1940. It is possible that only in these nearly five months have we shown ourselves and the world how strong we are, what burdens we can bear, what virtues lie dormant in our people, and what greatness it will achieve when given the chance to prove itself definitively before history.

The English cannot claim anything even remotely similar about themselves. A major London newspaper recently wrote that if one were to flip through British history, one would find nowhere a chapter as disgraceful as the capitulation of Singapore with 80,000 men. The entire war for the enemy side is just one great self-deception. One deceives the other, and

everyone fears that someone might come and tell them the plain truth. The Bolsheviks cling to the Americans, the Americans to the English, the English to the Chinese; each believes and hopes that the other will save them and fight and win the war for them. Together, they drive themselves into an almost ghostly madness of numbers. Mr. Roosevelt wants to build 100,000 fighter planes this year; in Singapore, they would have been glad to have 50 of them. If Stalin's advance kilometers were correct, the Bolsheviks would be some 30 km from Paris today. And how happy we would all be if we had ever had as many divisions as the Kremlin rulers claimed to have encircled, captured, and destroyed this winter.

Does not all this express the paroxysm of the anxiety neurosis that has gripped them all? They begin to vaguely sense that if they did not bring us down this winter, spring and summer will offer them hardly any more chances. All their wishes and hopes have remained unfulfilled, and some unforeseen misfortunes have also occurred. They may bitterly blame each other; this only proves that they have relied solely on the other and no longer carry a dagger in their toga with which they could strike.

What will the coming months bring? It would be presumptuous to predict details. But one thing is certain: if the enemy side did not manage to shake us in winter, spring and summer will undoubtedly put them in the gravest distress. This is already significantly the case today. One gets the impression that a large part of the enemy's hopes and wishes have already collapsed. No one speaks of a Napoleonic winter in the East anymore; on the contrary, almost all English and American newspapers express considerable doubts about Soviet war reporting. And even the Kremlin rulers are no longer comfortable in their skins. Like a rabbit hypnotized by a snake, they stare fixedly at a coming German offensive, which they all fear will put an end to their vain hopes of victory on the continent once and for all. They were saved from this fate last autumn and early winter solely and alone by the sudden and unexpectedly early onset of frost. But snow and ice are seasonal and not permanent phenomena. They will also recede in the East, giving way to a period of thaw and mud lasting several weeks, and then finally leaving the field to late spring and summer.

Then we will speak again. And given the circumstances, it can be expected that the world will look very different and certainly much less favorable for the enemy side than it does today. Neither another cabinet

reshuffle in London nor even a possible later replacement of Mr. Churchill by Mr. Cripps could change this. We know exactly that this would mean a renewed stiffening of enemy resistance and the attempt to introduce Soviet warfare methods in England as well. We cannot be intimidated by this. Even in our struggle for internal power, we experienced a similar experiment on the side of our opponents not long before the upheaval. At that time, the already wavering bourgeois front sought in its last desperation to lean once again on the Social Democrats and Communists. It did them no good. The confusion in their own ranks was only increased, and the last desperate rescue attempt was the beginning of the end. So it will be here.

Thus, we indeed enter the decisive phase of the struggle for a new world order. The seemingly impenetrable darkness that occasionally hung over our own heads begins to lighten. The precious seeds we sowed in winter under worry and pain are beginning to take root. How long will it be before the hard burdens of the past five months are nothing but a memory for us all? The more the enemy side is gripped by fear and terror, the more reason we have to look forward to further developments, if not with frivolity, then with a sovereign inner confidence. The German people have passed a war-deciding test. Perhaps one or the other has become nervous; some may have gone through hours of resignation or depression. Only a few among us could claim that they have never complained or grumbled. This is of no importance. What mattered, we all did: fought, worked, maintained discipline, and never forgot for a moment what is at stake. With these virtues, we conquered the winter, on the Eastern Front and at home.

Now it must yield. We see the situation again under new, more favorable, and more pleasant perspectives. It will not be long before the pains sweep over our tormented continent again. But take heart; here, a new world is being born through pain.

Open Discussion

March 29, 1942

The new reduction of food rations, which will take effect on April 6, deeply impacts the war economy of every citizen. Therefore, it would be completely unreasonable and inappropriate to try to sugarcoat or downplay it. The relevant authorities have long deliberated whether it was necessary to implement this measure at this scale, at this time, or even at all. They unanimously concluded that it is necessary now and to the extent announced, and then decided to take this difficult step. Had they not done so, we would likely face even greater food difficulties in about six to eight months, leading to far more significant consequences than those currently unavoidable.

Since the beginning of the war, Germany's food policy, in contrast to the World War, has aimed to distribute available food fairly. The fact that supplies are insufficient to satisfy all desires is due to the war itself, especially its prolonged duration. However, no one will blame the government for not allowing consumption today of what we absolutely need tomorrow to maintain our national life. We must manage our reserves with a long-term view, ensuring we can sustain the war to a victorious end. The government is well aware that food restrictions are the most palpable for the entire population. If it demands and decrees them, everyone can be assured that they are unavoidable.

The reasons for this measure are well known. They have been thoroughly explained in the press and radio, so there is no need to reiterate them here. The significantly larger number of our armed forces, the increase in heavy and extremely heavy laborers, long and night workers, the 2.5 million foreign workers primarily employed in our armament production, several million prisoners who work for us but also need to be fed, subsidies to the occupied territories working for our war economy, assistance to our heroically fighting ally Finland, and the abnormally adverse weather conditions over the past two years, which disrupted all calculations and led to merely average harvests, along with the chronic shortage of agricultural labor, all combined to make it impossible to maintain the old levels.

We are also aware that the timing of the ration cuts is not particularly favorable: Potatoes are scarce due to the prolonged frost, which has prevented their extraction. They will appear in larger quantities in the market once spring arrives in full, but the abnormally long winter has thrown a wrench into many plans that looked good on paper. Vegetables are lacking, especially in large cities. In short, we too would have preferred to delay this harsh measure by a few more months. But it was not possible. Our wartime supply policy is one of sober reality and sometimes unpleasant necessity rather than popularity. It will be maintained until the victorious end of the war, albeit with painful interventions. Above all, it is crucial that we cannot foresee the upcoming harvest and its yield and must absolutely ensure the connection to it. Depending on its outcome, improvements in allocation may be considered later.

There is no debate within the German people that we must win this war. What we voluntarily and with national discipline take on today is child's play compared to what would await us if we lost. Such a possibility is not even considered. The government not only wants victory but works and fights for it and is ultimately responsible for it. It has the duty to do what the situation demands.

Moreover, the people have the right to expect the burdens imposed by the war to be distributed fairly. No one should be exempt from the sacrifices the nation as a whole must make for victory. Those who disrupt or threaten our war efforts deserve the harshest punishment, potentially death. Many brave soldiers and officers are loyally serving their country to the utmost, and it would be irresponsible to allow anyone at home to go unpunished for hindering our victory, whether intentionally or unintentionally. The harsher the sacrifices and strains the front endures, and the greater the burdens on the home front, the stricter the regime must be to ensure order and justice at home and to hold lawbreakers ruthlessly accountable. This is what our soldiers demand of us, and undoubtedly, the entire nation fully supports such measures.

We are indifferent to what our enemies think about this. They would do well to look after their own affairs. If the English see in our rigorous maintenance of public life in the third year of the war a sign of our internal decay, that is their prerogative. They too have been forced to reduce their food rations just like us. Unlike the English food minister, we do not tell the

German people that eating meat is unhealthy anyway and that a good and tasty salad can be made from grass. While the English accuse us of being autocrats, we trustfully address our people on such an important and drastic matter, explain the situation without sugarcoating, and know that everyone understands us.

On the other hand, we protect our people from exploitation of such a difficult situation by profiteers and usurers. Instead of sparing them as is done in England — where the London newspapers complain almost daily in emotional tones about it — we will not hesitate to hang them if necessary, without any pangs of conscience.

It is no coincidence that in these days the Council of Ministers for the Defense of the Reich has issued a decree with the force of law stating in its first paragraph that anyone who destroys, hoards, or withholds raw materials or products essential for the population's vital needs, thereby maliciously endangering supply, will be punished with imprisonment or, in particularly severe cases, with death. Imprisonment will also be the penalty for anyone who, in the exercise of a profession or trade, demands or accepts a benefit for preferring another in the supply of goods or provision of services, or offers, promises, or grants goods or other advantages to gain preferential access to goods or services.

This is very clear. Prosecutors are instructed to rigorously pursue violations of this decree, and if leniency has been practiced here and there in these matters until now, it will no longer be the case. The black market and barter trade, which unscrupulous and irresponsible elements use to try to make a profit from the war, are being targeted. Now, we speak plainly, in the interest of our entire nation, the fighting front as well as the working home front, which have a right to be protected by the government in their most basic life rights, especially in light of the severe demands of the war.

Some people think nothing of constantly acquiring rationed food and luxury items through dark channels and at exorbitant prices. This is their final warning. Soon, it will no longer be profitable to risk one's head for the sake of indulging one's stomach. War is no fun for anyone. Therefore, it should not be a pleasure or a business for a few drones of society. We want to emerge from this historical struggle of our nation pure and unblemished. When victory comes, every German man and woman should be able to say

they contributed to it. Whoever does not understand this, whoever lacks the moral conscience that instinctively tells them what to do and avoid during the war, must be taught in other, more drastic ways.

In war, all goods and food belong to the entire nation. They must therefore be distributed fairly and justly. Anyone who violates this principle harms the supply of the whole. What the farmer produces belongs to the entire nation. He should and must turn away the hoarder from his farm. What German soil and German diligence produce passes through the hands of the merchant. He is the trustee of these goods and must distribute them justly. Barter trade makes him severely punishable. The craftsman's work has its fair price. It is therefore dishonorable and punishable to demand or accept special advantages.

A sense of right and wrong in everyone is the best guarantee of satisfactory distribution. The German housewife should expect and demand from the seller only what is due to her. Paying excessive prices and bribes is unworthy of her and also punishable. Barter trade, black market trading, profiteering, price overbidding, and bribery will be punished. In particularly severe cases, confiscation of property and the death penalty will be imposed.

Every producer, merchant, or buyer should take pride in acting exemplary. Everyone should be content with what is due to them. This is also service to the war effort and preparation for victory. It depends on all of us.

We cannot imagine there is anyone among us who would ignore this appeal to decency and cleanliness. Anyone who does will do so at their own risk. Perhaps some have not taken the war as seriously as they should have in this regard. That was very shortsighted because it not only endangers our supply but also sets a very bad example for decent compatriots who are fighting the war in this respect as it should be and undermines their sense of justice and faith in the integrity and cleanliness of public life. And that is much worse.

We all need our optimism and our deep, almost sacred belief in these difficult times. Anyone who abuses it, who plays with our patience and the decency of our people, must have their fingers painfully rapped until they lose the desire for it. The leadership of the nation feels even more connected to our people in war than otherwise. We see the heavy sacrifices it makes for

victory, how patiently and bravely it takes everything demanded of it. We mourn every mother who loses her son, every wife who loses her husband, and every child who loses their father at the front. We know how hard our farm women toil in the barn and field. We sometimes see our workers sitting dead tired in the streetcars and subways in the evening. We hear our soldiers when they come to Berlin on duty, reporting on their nameless sacrifices for the fatherland. We would like to use every day to sing a song of praise to this people in its entirety because it is so brave and humble, because it fulfills its duty as a matter of course, because it fights and works for victory without making much fuss about it.

We feel connected to this people. They expect from their

government that if sacrifices must be made and burdens are necessary, they are distributed fairly and equally across all shoulders. A government that is not tirelessly concerned with this would no longer deserve to be called a government of the people.

Now everyone knows. Those who violate the demands of the war will have to pay dearly. The German people, even at home, have behaved exemplary and deserve special recognition. We are convinced that they will wholeheartedly support a strict approach against lawbreakers.

The Great Heart of Our People

April 5, 1942

There are still people among us who do not understand how to view the war that the German people must fight for their national survival in a larger context. They dramatize the associated difficulties and burdens to such an extent that they can no longer distinguish the essential from the non-essential and the temporary from the far-reaching. We are not trying to paint the harsh realities of the war in a rosy light. War is always cruel and harsh. It inflicts painful wounds, often by different selection principles than those of individual justice. Some families are so mercilessly affected by it that they almost lose their existence; others, however, are spared and almost entirely unscathed. It is clear that those particularly affected by suffering and pain can hardly, if at all, understand this. But even outside of war, life is often unjust. It possesses only a higher historical justice, which individuals can rarely comprehend. And today, it is about crystallizing this justice from the chaos of the times and elevating it as a visible sign of consolation for all.

How should a soldier, returning wounded and exhausted from the Eastern Front to a home hospital after days of travel, immediately be ready to understand the worries and troubles of those left at home! What burdens us, what we have arduously endured during the long winter days at home, is only the ordinary or trivial out there. The occasional lack of coal and potatoes, the inability to travel by train whenever desired, overcrowded public transportation, newspapers with only four pages, standing in line for theater and cinema tickets for hours, frequently hearing in shops that something is no longer available—if these were the only concerns of our frontline soldiers, they would consider the life they could then lead to be truly paradisiacal. They are not only fighting for the nation's fate but also millions of times for their own bare existence. They face death so often that they often consider their personal survival as a gift.

Despite these inherent differences between the struggle on the front lines and the work at home, no conflict in perspectives between the front and home should develop. The home front tries to understand the front as much as possible, and the front, of course, does not wish to misunderstand the

home front. No one would dream of comparing the burdens the home front faces with the sacrifices of the front. Even if the home front does not always talk about it, it always thinks, consciously or unconsciously, of the front. It has a rough idea of what our soldiers have to endure.

Now that winter is over and spring sunshine smiles down on the gradually warming earth, we become fully aware of the trials the German military, especially on the Eastern Front, faced over the past five months. Only foolish people at home can unduly magnify their own worries in comparison. Ultimately, the front has not fought with incredible sacrifices because it is their job, and the home front has worked and taken on a series of restrictions because it is their privilege. The results of the front's heroic efforts benefit us all as a people, just as any failure of the front would have plunged us all into the deepest misery. The front has saved the Reich, and the home front has only assisted in this.

Those at home should never forget this. No matter how inconvenient and harsh the conditions of civilian war life may seem, they must always be compared to the sacrifices of the front to be properly assessed and valued. One cannot take the standpoint that fighting the war is solely the soldiers' duty while the home front has a spectator role. Such thinking would rightly embitter the soldiers, and over time, they would lose respect for a home front that had adopted such an attitude. It is always the same people at home who make a profession out of criticizing the difficulties arising from the war's prolonged duration and giving them undue importance. Those who have the least reason to complain usually stand at the wailing wall, while those whom the war has inflicted with the heaviest burdens and pain often withdraw into themselves in silent sorrow.

We have not spoken to a mother who has lost her son or a woman who has lost her husband who did not, alongside the expression of their profound personal grief, also recognize the harsh and inescapable fate the nation must master with all its strength. Even at home, there are significant differences in the demands the war places on individuals, and it repeats the old experience that those least affected complain the loudest, while those who have been wounded in the root of their human happiness often find the strength to see their sacrifice in a broader context and derive their inner resilience from it. They mostly seek to ensure that their painful loss is not in

vain, that it is worthwhile, and finds its justification in a higher existence of our people.

In recent weeks, we have received numerous letters from the front regarding the collection of wool and winter items conducted around the turn of the year. These letters all exude a warm spirit of solidarity, sometimes agreeing in their formulations to such an extent that one might think they were written according to a template. They come from all parts of the Eastern Front, and the underlying template is the uniform sentiment that prevails among our soldiers everywhere without command. Sometimes, it seems as if the entire front clings with all its heart to a cherished idea of the home front, which they must hold before their eyes in the hard battles outside to summon the strength to face life-and-death efforts for our people every day.

We do not always realize the responsibility we bear towards our soldiers. This idea must not be disappointed by anyone at any time. We owe it to our honor and the most basic sense of gratitude that the home front justifies this idea of itself in the eyes and memory of the front through its conduct. We would never tolerate even the slightest deviation here. Our worries and burdens at home are honored; no one who knows them would think of not taking them as seriously as they deserve. But they must never tempt us to overestimate their importance, and no one has the right to burden a frontline soldier returning home for the first time with these relatively minor worries. A soldier sees the familiar streets, people without guns and cannons, moving transport, clean and well-kept streets, the friendly smile of a beloved girl, the sparrow concert of playing children—all things we take for granted—as a new and completely unfamiliar happiness, so much so that he would almost like to touch the way home with his hands to confirm that it is not a dream but reality.

It has always been the noble privilege of Germans not to become brutalized in battle, no matter how hard and cruel it may be, but rather to find the way to the deeper secrets of their national heart. Our soldiers speak a rougher language now; behind it, they often try to hide the sensitivity of their souls. They listen intently to every word we speak, notice every glance and gesture from the home front, observe sharply and critically its demeanor, which often manifests more in small details and inadvertencies than in deliberate demonstrations, and seek only the confirmation of the image of home they have carried with them for months.

It is an honor for the front if the soldier, after a few days at home, yearns to return to the front, but not always an honor for the home front. We could imagine that the home front always shows itself to our soldiers in such a way that they consider it the greatest happiness and return to the front without a trace of bitterness but with the firm will to protect it because it is the source of their strength, the blessing of their lives, and the kind mother of their longing.

This may be more a matter of heart tact for us all than a matter of our life and conduct in the war itself. The home front does willingly and obediently what is demanded of it. Whenever it was called upon, it was there. It never refused when its national conscience was appealed to. But it should also speak as it feels. It should not, out of carelessness and lack of consideration, show itself in a worse light than it deserves based on its achievements. It should meet our soldiers naturally and avoid, in any case, burdening them with its relatively minor worries during their brief stay at home, worries it has likely already overcome and forgotten when the soldiers return to the front additionally burdened by them. This also applies to the letters we send to our soldiers. Only foolish and insensitive people use them as an opportunity to write about their minor daily worries, which have usually long since slipped from their memory when the recipient at the front learns about them this way. We all have our share to bear in the war. Everyone must honestly struggle with it and avoid, as much as possible, additionally burdening others, especially those who cannot help. In hard and difficult times, we must take more consideration for each other than in normal times. Most people are significantly involved in the war with their mental reserves. These are hard trials we must endure in this struggle. In them, we must prove ourselves and gain a universal alibi for a future great national leadership role. It is not enough to apply only strength. One must also enlist wisdom, especially the wisdom of the heart. We Germans have often been strong in our history and yet rarely achieved our goal. This was mostly because we remembered our weaknesses more than our virtues in great trials.

Today it is different and must be different. In all dangers and threats, we have a power to use, if we only will, that will hold firm in every storm:

The great, strong, but also kind and understanding heart of our people.

The Paper War

April 12, 1942

It is clear that a war of the total magnitude of the current one requires an enormous, extensive, and intricate organization. It encompasses all areas of public life and large parts of private life, and these can only be made serviceable if the necessary material conditions are provided. We no longer live in the era of mercenaries, where troops generally took what they needed wherever they found it. Today, warfare must be planned and prepared; it must align its measures with the available possibilities, it must manage supplies for the long term, and it cannot live hand-to-mouth. All this requires a complicated and finely branched state and administrative machinery. One cog must mesh with another to avoid the danger of the entire mechanism coming to a halt one day.

Nevertheless, even here, as everywhere else, simplicity is always the right approach. The clearer and more straightforward a system is, the more smoothly it will function. We Germans are famous worldwide for being true masters of organization. However, because we understand so much about it, we sometimes overdo it. We cannot imagine an orderly life without organization, and to ensure success, we often organize not only what must be organized but also what can still be organized. And that is where the error lies. Because we are such meticulous systematists, we occasionally lack the dynamic force of a bold improvisation. Everyone will admit that the conditions of warfare in 1942 are different from those in 1939. The tasks have grown to gigantic proportions. The number of people available to handle these tasks has hardly increased significantly. Their zeal for work has grown, but their physical and mental forces are at least as strained in the third year of the war as they were in the first.

Meanwhile, the apparatus has naturally become more ingrained. Unfortunately, it has also become more complicated rather than simpler. This is where remedial action is needed. Many people in war work still carry too much peacetime baggage. Instead of marching with light equipment to remain agile, they have strapped a considerable burden of concerns, objections, and hindrances on their backs, and instead of showing initiative,

they bombard each other with paperwork. An urgent matter is not resolved by writing a letter to the counterpart and filing its copy for possible alibi use if something goes wrong. It is much quicker to pick up the telephone, exchange a few friendly words with the neighbor—who is usually a person of goodwill—and agree on a decision. This saves time, effort, and annoyance, accelerates the work process, and is not as documented as a letter. However, the issues at hand are not always historical events that need to be documented for future historians.

Bold initiative and quick action are often half the success. One reaches the goal fastest if, while the other says sausage, they have already eaten it. Where will it all end if war work can only move with the crutches of file covers! The leadership offices of the Reich are so overwhelmed with work that they cannot read all the printed materials, letters, and submissions that come in. Moreover, it is not their task to handle what is the work of lower offices. They must focus on issuing guidelines and overseeing their adherence. This is what leadership means, and it is entirely different from execution. Administration in many cases can be better handled by subordinate instances than central offices. They must work with relatively small apparatuses. A bloated head rarely stands out for particularly exceptional thinking abilities.

Do not misunderstand us: a certain foundation of organization must always be present for the state and administrative mechanism to function. But there is also a limit to thoroughness that must not be crossed without harming the healthy functioning of the apparatus. If one is so meticulous that they even appoint supervisors to watch over the proper use of punctuation marks, thoroughness becomes a curse. We praise the power of improvisation in critical times. It brings not only ideas but also facts to life. It relies again on the cooperation of the people, spurs each individual's zeal for work, awakens their ambition and enthusiasm, and achieves successes that cannot be reached by normal means. The hurdles and obstacles where bureaucracy often stands helplessly braying are cleared with a bold leap, and then it goes at full gallop over open terrain.

This is how we always worked in the party during the struggle period. Organizations were created for specific purposes and discarded once they fulfilled their tasks, not carried as valuable museum pieces. This way, we fought our glorious election victories. We were always on the enemy,

flexible and adaptable, rigid and unyielding in principle, but tirelessly versatile in the application of methods to achieve our goals. We would never have achieved victory if we had ridden the bureaucratic horse; and we used paper mostly to print newspapers, leaflets, and posters. What was not necessary for gaining power was left aside for better days. Sundays and holidays were foreign concepts to us. When we had enough money, we traveled in express trains, and when we didn't, we lay on the hard wooden benches of the third and fourth classes. No one lost a pearl from their crown because of this. It was clear to all of us that we had to win: how was pretty much irrelevant. Theoreticians had little to say; only practitioners decided. We assumed that what we missed could be easily made up later with the help of power. And so it was.

Today we must act similarly in warfare. What does not contribute to victory is unimportant and must be discarded. Cumbersome procedures are the enemy of every success. What is necessary must be done quickly, or it is usually already too late. Cut off the old braids if they hinder work. We could afford many things in peacetime because we had time and money. In war, it is different. We are all under the compulsion of its harsh laws, and it would withhold success from us if we let opportunities slip by unused.

Someone wants to buy a poodle and responds to an ad in a dog magazine. He gets a request to join the Specialist Association for Poodles in the Reich Association for Dog Affairs (R.H.) and fill out the enclosed questionnaire. He must answer all sorts of questions, which is obviously nonsense. The poodle in question will feel just as comfortable with a believer in Germanism as with a Protestant or Catholic, at least during the war. And as for the Specialist Association for Poodles in the Reich Association for Dog Affairs (R.H.), its state value in peacetime is all well and good, but in war, its secretaries should be assigned to the armaments industry and its printing machines made available to the far-forward regiments on the Eastern Front to reproduce their modest trench newspapers.

The form and questionnaire nuisance must be reduced to the smallest and most reasonable measure. People today have no time to write a biography for a trivial matter that may be important to their personal life. Avoid being overly bureaucratic and limit the use of forms to what is vital. Everyone understands that meat, fat, bread, and other foodstuffs must be rationed and that this requires an organization with cards, coupons, and

permits. If long lines form in front of tobacco shops, tobacco sales must be regulated. This is done in the public's interest, which benefits from it. The more we must ration the essentials, the more we should leave the non-essentials to themselves. Appeal to the public's reason and discipline, and if someone persistently withdraws from the community, admonish them, and if they still do not obey, give them a friendly knock on the head.

Some people are close to fainting if a small speck of dirt stains their shiny boots. They act as if the state has no other task during the war than to care for their personal comfort. They lack all forms of self-help. If it snows, they wait for the city street cleaning, and if it thaws, they almost intentionally step into puddles to blame the government. They have no sense of the time's greatness. They judge it from their own narrow perspective, without enthusiasm and excitement. They represent a ridiculous percentage of our people, and we would ignore them if their complaints did not pollute the air for others as well. They sit in public transport and resent everything: that there is a war, that it causes them inconveniences, that their car isn't marked with a red stripe, that newspapers are only four pages, that they must stand up for women and war-injured, that the brakes squeak, that a nice young girl accidentally steps on their outstretched feet, and so on. These misanthropes feel important because they receive special care from British propagandists. These propagandists are naive enough to believe that such complainers represent the German people. How often have we made it clear to the British that they are profoundly mistaken and will continue to pay dearly for their error!

Our people are made of entirely different stuff. They are wise, politically insightful, think coolly and realistically, and keep both feet on the ground. If they dislike something or it bothers them, they do not complain; they may curse a bit, which is not so bad because it provides relief. Complaining is the soul's way of relieving stress. We neither want nor need to make a state issue out of it. We feel solidarity with this people. They feel exactly as we do. We also complain when something goes wrong for us, and that sometimes happens, or when someone makes a blunder: but then the matter is settled unless more serious consequences are necessary.

Application: Work quickly, accurately, reliably, and without much fuss. Do not make a big deal out of your small or even bigger worries, because no one feels sorry for you since everyone bears the same. Do not wage a paper war. Discard everything that does not lead to victory. In a word: Just as you once gave to peace what was peace's due, give to war what is war's due!

Our Kind of Democracy

April 19, 1942

As we publicly address the economic, political, and military problems of the war, our foremost aim is to approach the issues of our time with cool realism. We neither excessively inflate nor diminish their severity or urgency, we hide nothing and add nothing, thus giving our people and the world the opportunity to understand the German standpoint straightforwardly. Naturally, we can also make mistakes, and we have done so more than once during the war. But we have never stooped to painting black as black or white as white merely for the sake of immediate propagandistic success. We have been too principled for that, and above all, we know too well that whitewashing our stance would eventually backfire and would be an investment yielding no returns.

Problems are not solved by ignoring them or burying our heads in the sand; on the contrary, it is best to tackle them courageously and with civil courage because that is how solutions are most likely to be found. To recognize a problem means to have already half-solved it. That rust and grime accumulate here and there over two and a half years of war is understandable and not particularly concerning. It only becomes dangerous if nothing is done about it.

What good does it do a sick person to hide a harmless cold or flu from others? None of them will assume a cough or sniffle means impending death. However, it is very shortsighted to drag the illness out, hide it from oneself and others, and end up bedridden with pneumonia one evening. Illnesses are best fought at their onset. Any false shame is misplaced here and can only lead to unpleasant consequences.

The same applies to state life, especially during war. There is no need to fear the people, for they often notice mistakes as early, if not earlier, than their government. No one faints because something has gone wrong somewhere. The people are not as squeamish as some believe. The broad masses have so many life struggles that they can handle a good portion of it. They do not expect the government to eliminate every inconvenience that,

given the circumstances, cannot be eliminated. They willingly and readily accept the impossibility of remedying it; one must simply explain it to them. They are usually content to know that the government is aware of this or that issue. What is paralyzing is the feeling that something is being done wrong, that a problem is festering and growing without those in charge having any idea of it.

Over the past winter months, British propagandists have made a profession out of scrutinizing our public statements under the lens of their sharpest observation, apparently only to find any minor mistake from which a diligent bee might still extract some honey. This has not disturbed us in the least. We Germans live in a true democracy, however autocratic its leadership methods may sometimes be, and the most distinguished characteristic of our democracy is the mutual trust between the government and the people. We may sometimes be sparse in our statements, but this is always due to higher state or military considerations. For example, we had no interest in giving the enemy a clear picture of the Eastern Front through daily detailed reports and thus providing him insights into the situation that he could not obtain otherwise. We may have said little, but it was always accurate.

In stark contrast are the English. The further they were from the front, the more flowery and dramatic their reports became. According to them, the Bolsheviks destroyed more German divisions from December to March than we had ever possessed during the entire World War and the current one combined. And now the hard reality sets in. London newspapers are eagerly trying to make their sheepishly patient readership understand that their perceptions of the Eastern Front were all illusions, that there was no talk of the German Wehrmacht being shattered, and that we, as the "Times" recently wrote, in fact, held all positions relevant for future offensive actions, and that the English generals could learn as much from our great and admirable style of defense this winter as from our offensives in previous campaigns. One can imagine the disillusionment this has caused in England. We have been more modest in our statements this past winter and now need not retract anything. The picture of the Eastern Front is, as spring begins, exactly as we have depicted it over the past months, even if sometimes only in suggestive strokes.

The English operate similarly shortsightedly in internal political matters. When we publicly combat a budding problem of black-market and barter trade, which naturally involves only a barely perceptible percentage of our population, issue a regulation threatening severe penalties against it, and secure the support of all well-intentioned people in this fight against these symptoms of decay, a hue and cry arises in London as if all of Germany had turned into a true den of iniquity over two and a half years of war. It is like greedy heirs wanting to throw a lavish champagne party because the otherwise healthy wealthy benefactor has sneezed once. The English would be much better advised to take a page from our book. What only manifests itself in minor and insignificant symptoms for us has long become a chronic illness for them. They either do not know it or do not want to acknowledge it.

Does London seriously believe that our people will rise in mass protest and angrily overthrow their government because it is cracking down on black-market and barter trading, sending big racketeers to the scaffold and smaller ones to prison? The corrupt individuals who have stood before German courts in recent days and weeks and have been sentenced to severe punishments have nothing in common with the German people. They have committed the crime of placing themselves outside the national community for selfish reasons during the war, and the people react in the most natural way by now visibly excluding them from their community. This happens regardless of rank, dignity, or person. Every decent person welcomes such draconian measures, and the weekly published court rulings against racketeers have not alienated anyone from the government but brought the entire nation closer to it.

For example, should we tolerate the sometimes rude behavior of a few unfriendly individuals who confuse war with a campaign of complaints and bother decent people on the street, in lines at stores, in stores themselves, on public transportation, in restaurants, cinemas, theaters, and offices with their discourteous and boorish behavior, and refrain from calling them to order simply because we fear that the English might conclude that everything is in chaos here? God forbid! Then we would have to do everything that pleases our enemies out of fear of them, thereby only harming our national life. We repeat once again that we do not care in the slightest what the English think of us. Illusions among the enemy are not dangerous because they must sooner or later give way to facts and better insights. It sometimes takes longer than one wishes, but in the end, the truth always prevails.

We have the impression that our people, since recognizing the seriousness of the war and adjusting to its harsh necessities, have not decreased but increased in resilience. We no longer harbor any illusions. But we have never been so firmly convinced of the coming victory as we are today. The political atmosphere in which we live is clear, fresh, and clean. An occasional short storm is not an earthquake, as the English think, but merely a cleansing of the air. Afterward, one can breathe deeply again. Unfortunately, in the World War, we preferred continuously stuffy air, resulting in a discharge at the decisive moment that brought everything down. Such a development would, of course, be more pleasant for the English than regular purges of the atmosphere; another reason for us to stick to our current practice.

Recently, we spent a long evening with soldiers from all categories who had just returned from the Eastern Front. Besides many military matters they reported, they also spoke earnestly and knowledgeably about the extremely important interactions that constantly occur between the front and home through leave-takers, field post letters, radio broadcasts, or newspapers. What they told us is repeatedly confirmed by countless letters from the front: namely, that the soldier is far from expecting the home front to live exactly like the front. The soldier is far too insightful and wise to make such a demand. He only expects the home front to fulfill its war duties in its way, just as the soldier does in his way. He is not the least bit annoyed that people at home can visit cinemas and theaters, even if he has not seen a film in over a year. He reads not what the newspapers say about the front but what they report about home. This is natural because he always has the front, but only rarely or never the home.

What infuriates him is when someone at home takes no notice of the war, greets him casually upon his return, asks him distractedly where he is coming from, and then immediately starts complaining and whining that there is hardly anything to smoke while puffing cigarette after cigarette, that newspapers are only four pages long while barely skimming through even those, and then with a silent reproach asks when the soldiers will finally finish off the Bolsheviks.

That is crude, highly tactless, and stupid. It must make a front soldier boil with rage. He can hardly help himself against it, so we must help

him. Should we, for the sake of the English, let these worthless loafers tarnish the image of the home front before the soldiers? Should the countless millions of decent German workers, farmers, and intellectuals remain silent and leave the field to a few thousand grumpy patrons?

We think not! We stand up to them, punish them if they break the laws, and otherwise expose them to public ridicule. And as for the home front as a whole, the front can be entirely reassured. The home front is doing its duty even if it does not constantly talk about it. And if anyone tries to shirk their duty and spoil our good spirits, we will call them to order or give them a good knock on the head.

Führer's Birthday 1942

Radio Address for the Führer's Birthday

April 19, 1942

In these weeks, a film titled "The Great King" is playing in the cinemas of the Reich, depicting the severe trials and historical tests that Frederick II faced during the critical phase of the Seven Years' War before he could lead his armies to final victory over his enemies. This film attempts to take the unique figure of the great Prussian king, who has no equal in history, from the stone pedestal and portray him stripped of all anecdotal accessories, as he probably lived and acted historically. It places less emphasis on the traditional attributes of a historical existence and more on the human and personal essence of a unique statesman and military genius, who appears even greater and more compelling in his defeats than in his victories.

In this film, the great Prussian king does not appear with the ease of someone casually overcoming all the difficulties and adversities of war, as he has often been depicted in foolish popular descriptions. Instead, he emerges before our eyes and sympathetic hearts as a struggling titan, who for seven years had to endure an inferno of suffering, pain of all conceivable physical and mental kinds, the deepest human disappointments, and the greatest material tests, until the day Berlin wanted to celebrate his victorious return with grand festivities. Alone and abandoned, nearly toothless and plagued by gout, he sits in the Charlottenburg Palace chapel, and in the shock of a long-awaited and almost impossible relaxation from unnameable torments and oppressions, he bursts into tears while listening to the resounding strains of Graun's Te Deum.

It is understandable that such a portrayal of the life and struggles of our greatest Prussian-German king, which is more historically accurate and therefore more educational for our time, is a daring undertaking. It is so convenient to imagine historical figures and events according to the taste of simple bourgeois mediocrity. Nothing is easier than to believe that great victories in history are mostly the result of continuous military and political superiority and ever-smiling battlefield luck, and that any emerging danger or

occasional threat to success somehow diminishes the historical reputation of the acting personality.

Here, history is understood and portrayed from different perspectives. Here, the depiction of the human in the acting genius only serves to highlight the superhuman in him. Here, the greatness of the historical figure does not so much grow out of itself and by itself, but rather under the weight of fate that rests upon it. Here, physical afflictions, mental burdens, and temptations of the heart only serve to make the essence of a great man appear more vividly and sharply defined. This film shows that Frederick II is rightly called "the Great" and perhaps also the "Unique" because he repeatedly found the strength, especially under the crushing blows that sometimes pushed him to the brink of ruin, to rise triumphantly above trials and defeats and to set a shining example of steadfastness in misfortune for his people, his soldiers, the doubting generals, wavering ministers, conspiring relatives, and rebellious state officials.

It speaks volumes about the healthy instinct of our people in political and historical matters that a film so focused on the whole, making no compromises and unreservedly proclaiming historical truth even in its adverse circumstances, is not only regarded as a historical reminiscence by the so-called educated but is also spontaneously embraced by the masses as a wake-up call of the time, providing it with a sensational success rarely seen in the history of German cinema. No one could be unaffected by this portrayal. Indeed, the parallelism with the present is sometimes so striking in the words spoken by the great king, in the spiritual crises he endures with his people while fighting and suffering, that the creators of this film felt compelled to point out that it was not planned shortly before Christmas for specific didactic purposes, but was conceived in early summer 1940 without any connection to the tasks and duties of our time. The contemporary relevance of the sentences and the similarity of some of the events depicted here cannot, therefore, be attributed to conscious propaganda but must be sought in deeper historical laws.

And so it is indeed. Every century has its historical tasks. They do not repeat themselves; rather, they outlive their time so that the descendants can hardly muster more than historical understanding for the political issues of a past epoch. However, the framework by which history is made remains constant, as do the styles and forms of expression with which a statesmanlike

or military genius communicates, the resistances that stand in the way of their far-reaching actions, and above all, the superhuman forces with which they confront them. How could Frederick serve as an example for our time by defeating the Austrians? His inspiration for the present generation lies in the value of his personality, in the compelling force of his historical genius, in the mountain-moving faith that carried his historical actions, in his steadfastness in misfortune, in the absoluteness with which he served his secular task, and in the heroic loneliness in whose oppressive shadow he bore his fate. He is the one who said that those who wish to shape the world cannot also enjoy it.

We are living through a time that wishes to be shaped and therefore forbids its enjoyment. As rarely before in our history, the fate of our people has condensed into the hands of a single generation. Their will to live and endure must decide whether we stand at the beginning of a new, unprecedented historical development in our national history, or conclude the history of our people altogether with the end of the old. Such periods in the ebb and flow of nations' lives consistently exert their thrilling charm on every courageous and brave-feeling individual. They see in the dangers and burdens of the time only the tests that usually precede their dramatic climax and in which the fighting generation must prove itself if it does not wish to be weighed and found wanting on the scales of fate. The path to victory always leads through the valleys of risk and historical trials. In war, a nation must endure many contingencies; it must be armed against the tricks of capricious fortune, which tends to test its favorites harshly and relentlessly until it finally crowns them with laurels.

A generation that receives the blessing of a great personality in such perilous times is enviable. Throughout this war, people on both sides have not tired of deriving the greater chances of victory from various causes. They saw them in the size of a richer economic and military potential, in the higher number of people, in the happier geographical location, in the more commendable bravery of the soldiers, or the tougher morality of civilian life. They compared system to system and viewpoint to viewpoint to draw conclusions about the more favorable prospects for success. It seems to us that, as always, victory will go to those who possess superior leadership. Leadership is decisive. If it also holds the better material opportunities, then no power in the world can take victory from it.

We are at the end of a winter that is unmatched in harshness, length, and endurance in living memory. It has subjected leadership, front, and home front to trials whose size and extent are only becoming fully conscious to us now that we have passed them. It will be left to later historians to frame them as the most moving chapter of this gigantic struggle in the annals of our war. No one among us can remain untouched by the almost legendary strength of the heroism demonstrated by German soldiers during this period. If we as a people have proven anywhere that we have not presumptuously claimed the leadership role that belongs to us and our allies on our continent in the future, that it rightfully belongs to us, it is here. The German people have passed their test this winter. A nation that withstands such trials is destined for victory.

How often during these difficult weeks and months has the German people, in spirit, directed their gaze towards the Führer. Never has the entire country felt so connected to him as during this harsh time, which has spared none of us. Everywhere, there was a sense that we needed to see him, even if only in a picture, to draw strength from his mere sight to overcome the heavy tasks each day brought for everyone. How much we all felt obligated to him during these months! How every word he addressed to the nation was a command for man, woman, and child, for soldier, worker, and farmer! We were all with him, even without many words and without any call! The entire nation lived unspoken in the dark feeling that, while we were dealing with our small and large daily concerns, he was fighting his gigantic battle for the Eastern Front, that he was on duty in his headquarters, planning, weighing, and daring late into the night, and from there, sending those currents of willpower to the front, reaching even its most distant parts, filling the hard-fighting regiments outside down to the last soldier.

Nowhere is the power of personality felt more strongly than at the front. The soldier must feel led, or he will no longer understand the daily sacrifice of his life. And when did he have a greater right to this feeling than in the hours when he must prove himself even without constantly renewed orders, when he must feel that the life of the nation stands above his own life, to do what only duty and conscience command. Here, the value of a great and compelling personality is demonstrated, as Goethe says, the highest fortune of the children of earth. In the feeling that someone stands above all, knowing everything and taking everything into account, sharing the sufferings and pains of his people without daily expressions, sharing in every

single loss that affects a woman, a mother, or a deserted child, yet finding the strength to demand them for the sake of the greater national life of his people, in this feeling, the time with all its sacrifices and burdens is easier to bear.

There is nothing harder than taking on the responsibility for the future of a great people. This requires not only courage, readiness for any risk, bravery of the soul, and steadfastness of the heart

, but above all, renunciation. And in renunciation, the historical personality grows beyond things and people into that lonely height where only the service to the cause for its own sake is the daily command.

So the German people have always had the Führer before their eyes this winter: surrounded by his associates, politicians, and generals, enveloped in the love of countless millions of people, and yet ultimately relying only on himself, bearing the heavy burden of responsibility on his shoulders alone, struggling for the fate and life of his people. No matter how high we may have risen individually, no matter what pressing burden one or another may carry, we all still have someone above us to whom we can appeal, whom we may obey because he leads and commands, who takes the heaviest weights off our shoulders when they become too burdensome, who lifts us up in moments of discouragement, doubt, or fatigue, fills us with new strength, recalls to us the great lines of our time and our view, and thereby revitalizes us anew. Whether we enjoy the greater fortune of working in his immediate vicinity or directly under his eyes, or whether we are only called to participate as unknown soldiers, workers, or farmers in his work, whether fighting or creating, it does not matter; we always see a power above us that supports and holds us, feeling secure in the protective care of a man who leads the way for our century. We only need to follow. He, however, must break the path. He stands alone facing his and our fate, to fight the titanic battle imposed on us for the life of our people.

If we gather the entire nation around the loudspeakers today on the eve of his 53rd birthday, it is more than a solemn ceremony. It is a reaffirmation of what all Germans feel and sense, today deeper and more binding than ever before. It is a renewal of the loyalty and faith that have proven themselves a millionfold through deeds and achievements, through sacrifices beyond number, through the commitment of blood and life and countless bitter deaths, making words unnecessary. If ever the German nation

has felt united in a thought and a will, it is in serving him and following his command. This time, the sounds of the most heroic music ever to flow from a Faustian German heart will elevate this confession to a solemn height. When at the end of our hour of celebration, the voices of men and instruments begin the great final chord of the Ninth Symphony, when the resounding chorus of joy sounds and a sense of the greatness and breadth of this time reaches into every last German home, when its hymns echo over the lands where German regiments stand guard, let us all, whether man, woman, child, soldier, farmer, worker, or official, become aware of the seriousness of the hour and also feel the fortune of being witnesses and co-creators of this greatest historical epoch of our people.

Call the eternal power that rules over us the Almighty, God, fate, or the good father who must dwell above the starry sky, as the closing chorus of the Ninth Symphony says: let us ask this Almighty to preserve the Führer for us, to give him strength and blessing, to enhance and increase his work, to strengthen our faith, to grant us steadfastness of heart and strength of soul, but to grant our people victory after struggle and sacrifice, thus fulfilling the time we have brought to fruition.

There is no greater happiness on earth than to serve the genius of one's people and his work. Let us partake of this happiness daily. The severity of our time is also its greatness. We would not trade it for any other.

In gratitude and loyalty, we send our greetings to the Führer. As if bound by an unbreakable bond, the front and home front feel united in this hour; Germanness worldwide is united in the fervent wish we have expressed every time on the eve of his birthday:

May he remain for us what he was and is:

Our Hitler!

Black Clouds Over England

April 25, 1942

One might ask who will bear the greater guilt before history for the emergence and outbreak of this war: British Prime Minister Churchill or American President Roosevelt. In this regard, they have little to accuse each other of. Despite their efforts today to wash their hands of the gigantic worldwide conflict already resulting in catastrophes for their nations, attempting to label the victim as the aggressor with the old tactic: "Not the murderer, but the murdered is guilty!"—it will not help them. Since the First World War and particularly due to the subsequent cynical revelations of its instigators, the peoples have become too alert to be deceived by such crude maneuvers.

Another question is whether either of these war culprits, after the experiences gained from what they once called a charming war, would have the desperate courage to enter it again if given the choice. This question can likely be answered with a resounding no for both. Their cheerful war has already given them so many disappointments and will deal them many more blows in the foreseeable future that, if given the choice, they would surely avoid it.

This applies especially to Mr. Roosevelt. Rarely has a statesman in such a responsible position so criminally misjudged the global situation and the economic, moral, and military strength of the opposing party. Neutral observers report that he has aged and grayed since the outbreak of the East Asian conflict and the entry of the United States into this world struggle. We can understand that. His current public statements starkly contrast with his inciting speeches before the U.S. entered the war, not to mention his loudmouths like Knox and his ilk. Mr. Roosevelt had promised his people peace before his re-election. Breaking this promise brazenly, he led them into war with almost diabolical perfidy. He had no reason grounded in national American interests to do so. His people did not want this war and were dragged into it reluctantly, if not by force. And now, the dreadful act is followed closely by retributive Nemesis.

Rarely has a responsible man and state leader been so swiftly and thoroughly refuted by history as he has. Not a single one of the supposed trump cards in his hand has succeeded. His troops and naval forces have been defeated wherever they met the enemy. His blustering ministers and war agitators have turned into modest civil bureaucrats. He had to send his close friend, New York's Jewish mayor LaGuardia, who was in charge of air defense, along with his better half, into the wilderness under public pressure. Not to mention his generals. The New York press Jews tried their best to blow up MacArthur into a new Leonidas. But by European standards, being a great strategist requires more than just timely fleeing with family and leaving fiery encouragements to those left behind. How would we then title our Dietl and Rommel if MacArthur is considered a general?

And now the material losses the USA has suffered since officially entering the war. American papers occasionally fantasize about a march to Tokyo or an invasion of the European continent, but it all sounds so hollow and meaningless that even a dog would feel pity. No reasonable person believes in the USA's exaggerated numbers anymore. Of course, the United States can still draw a lot from its potential. But the Axis powers will not wait for them to catch up. There can be no doubt that the fox is in the trap.

Mr. Churchill must have also noted with some astonishment the total change in the global situation since the USA entered the war. He had surely expected much more. That was the big ace up his sleeve. And now this disappointment! At least he has temporarily rid himself of his most dangerous rival in the internal English crisis, Mr. Cripps, through his failure in India. Perhaps he counted on such a result when he sent this half-Bolshevik to New Delhi. But England pays dearly for Churchill's domestic political gain. We won't even mention the desperate attempts by the London press to spin the failure of negotiations for a new Indian statute into a great British victory. This Churchill regime method is so familiar and expected since Dunkirk that it would only be notable if it wasn't used.

It is another sign of the general paralysis of political instinct that has befallen the English people that not a single voice in London speaks out to recognize the failure of negotiations in New Delhi as a decline in the power and prestige of the British Empire. One would think that someone in England would notice what any politically interested person in the rest of the world knows: that the British Empire can no longer be called a world empire in the

strict sense, as its parts are only loosely connected and will likely fall apart at the first serious strain.

A leading New York newspaper recently wrote that one must accept that the good old days are over and that no race can indefinitely dominate another. A well-known English journalist adds to this sigh with the blunt observation that Britain is undergoing a rapid process of internal revolution that no power in the world can stop. This is very clear and shows how far our opponents have strayed from their initial war goals. Whether they like it or not, the new era does not stop for them, prompting the aforementioned English journalist to melancholically remark that Britain will likely have to adopt some, if not much, of Nazi doctrine after the war. We do not recall England or its glorious democracy, for which it allegedly waged war in September 1939, ever saying anything similar or even remotely comparable about us. They wanted to impose their way of life on us against our will, and now they admit meekly that they will not manage without borrowing our ideas after the war. Is there any need for further proof of the triumph of our methods and views? Our opponents now only know what they are fighting against; they are as unclear about what they are fighting for as we have been about their war aims.

Who, for instance, still talks about the "Potomac" declaration by Churchill and Roosevelt, which they baptized with great fanfare eight months ago at their Atlantic meeting? It is yellowed paper, as distant to us today as the Peace of Hubertusburg. It did not stop the course of history and only further proved that the foolish tricks our opponents used in the First World War no longer have any effect in this one.

Not only does their military strategy suffer from a lack of modernity, but so does their politics and diplomacy. That's why these miserable plutocrats cling so desperately to Bolshevism, hoping to find there what they lack. They seem unaware that they are merely trying to drive out the devil with Beelzebub. They are playing with fire, and their people will get burned. What can one say, for instance, about a Lenin bust being unveiled in London, that there are no rallies without the hammer and sickle, that the increasing Bolshevization of public life meets hardly any resistance from the leading and responsible circles, and that Soviet trade union officials are traveling through English factories, inspecting British war production, and publicly criticizing the government to the frenzied applause of the slums? Considering

the offers the Führer made to England before the war, the opportunities London then squandered, and where the British Empire has ended up on this path, and likely will continue to, it is fair to say that the English could have had it cheaper.

We don't even need to talk about Mr. Churchill in this context. He is an alcoholic and a blind, raging berserker. He cannot be taken seriously because his policies are more pathological than rational. But what do the undoubtedly still existing conservative Empire politicians in England say about this development? How do they judge the decline of the British Empire, which, by all human measures, is not stopping but progressing rapidly? We remember speaking with one of the leading English press lords in Bayreuth six weeks before the outbreak of the war, who, upon our question about what would happen if Churchill took over British politics, merely waved his hand wearily and replied laconically: "Churchill is a fool!"

We have no reason to doubt this statement and see no sign that Churchill has changed through this war. But has Lord Kemsley—who it was—become dumber? Can he and his kind provide any proof that the slow dissolution line we drew for the British Empire in case of a war provoked by England is incorrect? Was England driven off the continent or not? Has it lost its strategic possibilities in Northern Europe or not? Has it buried its hopes in the southeast or not? Did Poland and the Soviet Union fulfill what was expected of them? Did the USA's entry into the war fundamentally strengthen Britain's position? Was Italy overrun? Did they play cat and mouse with Japan, yes or no? Is England struggling with the specter of a deadly tonnage shortage on the world seas? Is Mr. Churchill, the fool, at the helm, and is he governing Britain into the ground with unparalleled cynicism? Yes or no?

One need not answer these categorical questions. The development has answered them so unequivocally that there can be no doubt. A horrifying chaos looms over the British Empire. Like before a typhoon, black clouds gather on its horizon. Low rumbling thunder and the occasional flashing bolt that illuminates the entire situation announce an unleashing of the elements unseen in modern history. This England is marked by fate. The charming war its plutocrats wanted and frivolously ignited will descend upon its realms like a twilight of the gods.

We did not want it. But since fate wills it, we must complete it.

Fortunate are those who stand firmly when the storm breaks

Something Like a Second Front

May 1, 1942

All eyewitness reports agree that there are currently truly catastrophic, if not chaotic, conditions behind the Soviet lines. Recently, a USA journalist, who certainly cannot be suspected of being pro-Axis, wrote that the Soviet population is only being fed bread and cucumbers, if these are available at all. While the masses endure the unspeakable hardships of war with a dull fatalism, this does not change the fact that millions in the Soviet Union see the specter of famine directly before them.

We have not factored an internal collapse of the Soviet system into our calculations for now and can therefore speak about these facts objectively. Even if Stalin and his cronies extract everything physically possible from their people, they cannot surpass the limits set by nature itself. One does not lose their decisive grain and industrial centers without severely impacting their war effort. Individual and mass terror, no matter how ruthless, will eventually lose its effectiveness. How far the Soviet Union can continue to conduct long-term military operations, defensive or otherwise, remains to be seen in the coming months. In any case, our chances are much more favorable than theirs.

Under these circumstances, it is understandable that the Kremlin is becoming increasingly impatient and demanding a more substantial contribution to the war effort from London, beyond mere ideological support, propaganda praise, and rhetorical encouragement. Moscow wants action, and neither England nor the USA is currently willing or able to provide it to the required extent. But Mr. Churchill would not be who he is if he did not try to extricate himself from this dilemma with a propagandistic trick. The winter strategy continues with minor modifications, looking something like this:

London launches a western offensive. At night, a few British commando squads, wearing rubber shoes and blackened faces, try to land on the French Atlantic coast. They linger in the dunes for a few minutes and, upon the approach of German patrols, leave their weapons behind and disappear back to their boats behind a smokescreen, heading home. One does

not need to be a military expert to recognize these as pranks with no practical value for warfare. We do not think the British army leadership is so foolish as to be unaware of this. These are not military operations but propagandistic ones, evident from how the English and Americans try to spin these events in their newspapers and broadcasts. They want to appease the Bolsheviks, though it remains to be seen whether such tricks will soothe Stalin's growing impatience. If wars could be won with editorials, the Anglo-Americans would already be victors.

Following the failure at Boulogne, where military experts worldwide could only smile or shake their heads, London and New York papers ran headlines declaring that the long-awaited invasion had begun. England and the USA were then surprised or pretended to be that world opinion showed no inclination to adopt their standpoint on this brazen attack on intelligence. This sensation fizzled out, affecting not us but its perpetrators. Mr. Churchill soon realized he could not maintain his bold narrative without making himself and all of England a laughingstock. Without the expected telegram of gratitude from the Kremlin, he melancholically adjusted his sails and paddled back to the safer harbor of traditional warfare.

English-American newspapers no longer spoke of a second front in the classical sense but only modestly of its specter. The "New York Herald Tribune" explained there was now "something like a second front," though not a formal conventional invasion. Herein lies the crux. Landing on the coast, driving out the enemy, organizing supply lines, mastering operational attack problems, and forcing the enemy to retreat is a conventional invasion. But when one sneaks in, flashes a flashlight, whispers "Who's there?" and then runs away, this is a modern invasion of Churchill's invention.

This is what they call "something like a second front," where the difference from the first front is in the trivial detail that it stretches over 2000 km and has been fought, defended, and retreated with heavy bloodshed by the Bolsheviks for almost a year, while the second front is 500 meters long, held for eight minutes only because the enemy was not there, costing just a few left-behind submachine guns. It is up to Stalin and his cronies to decide if they are satisfied with this.

Knowing the Bolsheviks, they will not let Churchill and his plutocrats off so cheaply. This is evident from the effort the British Prime

Minister makes to draw absurd military conclusions from his pranks. According to Radio London, a German parachute division has been moved to occupied France to take over the defense of the rear positions. As everyone knows, parachute divisions are generally used for defense because jumping from planes is a primary defense method, while coastal batteries are for offense.

According to Radio London, we in Germany are currently in a terrible nervous crisis because, after the blow at Boulogne, we do not know where the next strike will fall. Millions of German soldiers are immobilized in fear of a small troop of well-trained British soldiers who only need to paint their faces black to throw all of Germany into a panic. According to leaflets dropped on the Dutch, the German army leadership is feverishly equipping a bicycle army for the west. This is necessary because, as a London newspaper reported, "the German occupation troops fled, after which the British troops withdrew." Generally, the point of a perfect and, above all, an easy and quick victory over the enemy is to pursue them, not retreat oneself. But try talking to Mr. Churchill about political or military logic!

The London correspondent of the Madrid newspaper "Ya" reports that people in London clubs, restaurants, cafes, and transport are talking about the successful British attacks and landing operations. And that was the point of the exercise.

Mr. Churchill must regret that Moscow is not as naive as London. There was no applause. The Soviet news services were cold and indifferent, hardly noting the British "heroics." This is understandable. The Soviets, losing thousands of soldiers at the front and hundreds of thousands to hunger and exhaustion, have no interest in praising the English for leaving a few submachine guns in Boulogne's dunes.

The Bolsheviks have long realized that the plutocrats are not inclined to fight a real war and prefer another round of nerve warfare. They admit this with disarming frankness. British radio commentator Lindley Fraser recently said on Radio London that we Germans have always valued this type of warfare and that the author of these lines is a particularly cunning representative of this vile method. But now, the English have learned this technique too. "We do everything in our power to use propaganda to increase

our pressure on Germany, thereby reducing the army they provide for the offensive in the east."

We modestly reject the praise given to us for mastering the technique of nerve warfare. However, we know enough about this mysterious art to say it remains ineffective if one reveals its intentions. If we master it as virtuously as suggested, one should assume we are the least suitable targets for its application, especially when its purpose is openly stated.

To reassure the English, we inform them that neither a million nor any soldiers have been withdrawn from the east and moved west to counter their black-painted Wild West ventures. Our troop levels in the west are fully sufficient to repel such and worse in a way that will leave the British with wide eyes. There's also the air war. Mr. Churchill's much-announced non-stop offensive has already failed miserably. He can still inflict severe damage on German cities and cause bitter suffering to their inhabitants. We do not flatter ourselves that such a statement will impress him. Where others have sensitive skin, he has a hide like a hippopotamus. We say this not for his sake but for our brave compatriots in the attacked and terrorized cities, who stand on a kind of front and set an example of stoic calm to the whole nation with their endurance of nightly British air raids. They would not complain, as we know, even if our air force were exclusively engaged in fighting in the east and the Mediterranean.

But this is not the case. British attacks on German cities are now being repaid blow for blow. The British air force loses so many planes and personnel during their raids that Mr. Churchill will soon question how long he can sustain such operations. Based on his past war conduct, this is the only method to bring him to a clear and realistic assessment of his military capabilities. Some people only come to their senses after being dealt a harsh blow. The current British Prime Minister is one of them. The residents of the bombed English cities will have Mr. Churchill to thank. Bath, Norwich, York, and other afflicted places are the teeth we knock out of Mr. Churchill until he learns to conduct war decently.

Regarding the second front, the English may continue painting their faces. We are no longer children and do not fear the bogeyman.

Superior Leadership

May 3, 1942

It almost seems like a tragedy in the steep rise of the Führer on the path to historical success that he hardly found any opponent in his domestic struggle and world conflict who was even remotely his equal. Who today even knows the names of Ballerstedt and Kahr, Held, Stützel, and Koch, Müller, and Wels, Scheidemann and Severing, Joos and Kaas, Brüning and Schleicher, who stood against him on his way to power? They have faded away like their time, without leaving any trace. And yet, back then, they were considered serious opponents of the party by the general public, and it was by no means clear to everyone how the conflicts between the Republic and National Socialism would end and who would ultimately triumph. However, the quality of a man is not changed by victory or defeat alone. The Führer was always what he is today, and his domestic opponents were nothing more than what they are contentedly now: small pensioners, modest and intellectually undemanding mediocrities, or quiet citizens who currently wish for nothing more than to be left in peace.

Only a person can claim to be historically judicious if they have the gift and instinct to assess historical figures for their worth while they are active, not when they have completed their work. We see a repetition of this process in the Reich's foreign political conflicts since 1933. Dollfuß and Schuschnigg, Benes and Hodza, Beck and Rydz-Smigly, Daladier and Reynaud already belong to the past. It's hard to imagine that just two or three or four years ago, they challenged the Führer and his system, and the world was not yet clear about how this struggle would play out as it indeed did. Geniuses always initially appear to their environment as intimidating and fearsome. This is because they do not follow the well-trodden paths of habit, cannot be measured by normal standards, and intrude into a conservative world with fermenting and far-reaching ideas and visions. The state of new fruitful stability they also seek is usually preceded by a process of changes and profound reforms that bring unrest until they solidify into new contours.

This, however, does not change the fact that only geniuses drive social, cultural, and civilizational development forward. Imagine their lives

and works being removed from human history, and the world would have long since frozen into a new Ice Age intellectually and politically. The German music world, accustomed to harmony and pleasant sound before Beethoven, had to view this titanic revolutionary as an intruder. His tragic fate was not being understood by his contemporaries, only to be gloriously praised by posterity. Today, it is hard to understand that the bunglers and dilettantes who judged him harshly in his time were taken seriously even then; and yet, they were. Genius must be dearly paid for, and it is already a great fortune if the remarkable man receives due recognition for his work from his time, even if belatedly.

Many who supported the Republic instead of National Socialism 10 or 15 years ago might ask themselves in a quiet moment today how they could have fallen victim to such a political illusion. Although victory or defeat does not change the personalities involved, it makes them clearer. Similarly, it should be evident to historically thinking individuals today that a similar re-evaluation process will occur with the currently acting figures after this war. Churchill and Roosevelt are of the same caliber as Schuschnigg and Benes once were. This is difficult to recognize now because they are still in action. The outcome will decide their worth. As long as they represent power, the layperson can only speculate about their quality, not define it.

It is clear that such mediocrities have a stronger impact on a certain part of the neutral world than the German leadership. This is because this part of the neutral world comes from the same milieu and mindset they represent. Their assessment of the world situation is more dictated by wishes and hopes than by insights. It is not even to say that they fear the outcome of our war effort; they often merely have an aversion to the path and method. They resemble that comfortable householder who prefers to see his home fall into dirt and disorder rather than allow the housewife to clean and tidy everything through a week-long cleaning spree. Even if the housewife does not demand his participation, the process brings so many inconveniences for him that he prefers to remain in the mess.

When we have pointed out that the outcome of this war will mainly be decided by superior leadership, it was by no means to suggest that the number of people, resources, and potential do not play a role. However, superior leadership will prove its higher quality precisely in the selection and use of people and material. In the fight for inner power, the Führer primarily

did not have the larger number of people or the greater scope of resources. He had to create these prerequisites for victory himself. But how he created them, how he developed new, greater successes from each success, was the decisive and admirable aspect of his approach. His superior tactics and strategy forced the enemy from one retreat to another, and what they lost in power, prestige, and honor, we gained. In history, dead numbers have never won. Numbers must also be animated, and they gain their weight only through human influence. If this were not the case, history would hardly ever experience a change or renewal because, at the beginning of any historical upheaval, the party in power or wealth always has far greater means.

Today, we are more convinced than ever that the superiority of the Führer's statesmanlike and military genius will prove just as evident in the outcome of this war as it did in all the domestic and foreign political conflicts that the National Socialist movement or the National Socialist state had to endure so far. We do not rate Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin higher than we rated our previous opponents. Their supposed superiority in material means cannot even be compared with what our former enemies possessed against us. Their methods have hardly changed compared to those previously used against us. Our enemies face us today with the same arrogance and haughtiness as Braun and Thälmann did back then. With the same crude threats, they seek to unsettle us, spreading the same lies and slanders about us and our regime, experiencing the same defeats, trying to console themselves with the same illusions, and thus, they will likely pay for their frivolous game with the same mental and material collapse.

Currently, we are experiencing a re-run of this lively activity. Anyone who reads English or American newspapers unprepared today might think the Bolsheviks are at the gates of Königsberg, the English near Magdeburg, and the Americans in the heart of Tokyo. There is no mention of the blows received and the defeats suffered by the enemy powers. They talk of an invasion of the European continent as if it were the most natural thing in the world. General MacArthur, whose only military achievement was noticing in time when things started getting tight in the Philippines and then taking to his heels, sends his wrathful declarations from safe Australian soil, simply stating that his next goal is to occupy all of Japan. London tabloids boast that the British offensive will be perfected in no more than two months, with St. Nazaire and Boulogne being just a small taste of it. A daylight raid by British bombers on Augsburg, where they lost eight out of twelve

incoming planes, is made out to be a great victory. In short, one might get the chills if one did not know the plutocrats as well as one fortunately does.

Meanwhile, the enemy front experiences one defeat after another. Their tonnage, the most crucial prerequisite for successful warfare, shrinks at an alarming rate day by day, their raw material and supply difficulties are constantly growing, their overseas positions are faltering everywhere, and wherever one looks, there is failure, inadequacy, lack of preparation, uncertainty in planning, and confusion in their war strategy. An occasional bold improvisation almost always ends in disaster, and nothing else. When the Axis powers lose a ship, London pretends it means our downfall. When hundreds of thousands of tons of Anglo-American tonnage are sunk almost continuously, it supposedly means almost nothing.

This is how a regime destined for downfall must be led. It must not only lose, but it must also lose this way if it is to be fully finished. One thing leads to another, and in the end, the constant drop will hollow out the stone. We must not lose patience and must keep an overview of the overall development despite daily events. It took us fourteen years to overthrow the Republic, and after the failed coup in 1934, it took another four years before Austria's system was ripe. Men who are hardly known by name today puffed themselves up against us back then. They threw around numbers and evidence to disprove us. They had the power to persecute and torment our supporters, only to be finally detained by a few SA men or soldiers without a hand being raised to protect them. After a long, dogged game, they were checkmated by superior leadership, almost without realizing it, and found themselves unable to make another move.

This will also be the case here in the end. A historical law cannot be reversed by human folly or narrow-mindedness; it must be fulfilled. Money and material resources, with all due respect, are indispensable for successful warfare. But above that stands the will to acquire and utilize them, the determination to use them for total victory, the superior leadership that plans and conducts the war with great and bold vision, and in the decisive moment, boldly reaches for the laurel that beckons in the distance.

The Eastern Front

May 17, 1942

A renewed reading of the memoir literature about the collapse of Napoleon's armies in the winter campaign of 1812 against Russia gives us reason to revisit the German Wehrmacht's struggle against the Soviet Union in recent months. When every great war is remembered for the particularly remarkable achievements of troops and leadership, and such achievements are usually associated with the names of men or cities or landscapes—who doesn't think of Champagne, Verdun, the Somme, or Flanders when the World War is mentioned?—there can be no doubt that our war will probably later be most notably remembered under the collective term "Eastern Front." This will especially be understood to mean the hard and heroic struggle that German soldiers fought from mid-November to the end of April in the vast snowfields of Russia against the Soviet onslaught.

It is not yet time to detail this almost legendary achievement of German manhood in its particulars. However, everyone in the German nation and beyond already knows that this achievement saved not only our Reich but all of Europe from an acute, life-threatening danger.

When we speak of a gigantic defensive battle in this context, we must first counter a widespread misconception that this involved a defensive stance on our part in a developed trench system, similar to the Western Front from 1915 to 1918. Modern warfare hardly knows this kind of defense anymore. Here, it was essentially about holding the conquered territory in the form of a fortress battlefield after withdrawing the offensively intended spearheads, thus denying the enemy the opportunity for large operational developments. It was easy to deduce from their intelligence services and the entire setup of their tactics that the enemy had such plans. The fact that these attempts were always thwarted and nipped in the bud is the historic achievement of the German soldiers, who fought under conditions previously unknown in warfare.

The comparison with Napoleon's campaign in Russia is also flawed. If our worst enemy in the winter war in the East was the cold, the Führer

rightly pointed out in his last Reichstag speech that Napoleon faced temperatures as low as minus 25 degrees, while our soldiers had to fight against temperatures of minus 50 degrees and more last winter. The enemy had almost entirely implemented their proclaimed scorched earth policy. There were hardly any quarters in the usual sense. But since a prolonged stay outdoors in such temperatures is impossible even with the strongest human resilience, the troops first had to find shelter somewhere. Possessing an intact village often meant controlling the surrounding area, bearing in mind that their quarters were mostly miserable, unheated, and unheatable wooden huts.

The front itself, as is well known, extends far beyond our previous conceptions. The winter, with its barbaric frost, made previously impassable terrain—swamps, lakes, and fields—suddenly passable again with a solid base. Traffic on both sides was no longer dependent on a few roads. However, this did not create a continuous front; on the contrary, there were often opportunities for the enemy to infiltrate, especially at night. Our soldiers could only gradually create better defensive positions by building bunkers and emergency shelters. The so-called breakthroughs of the Bolsheviks almost always occurred in weakly held sections of the front, which seemed most suitable for allowing an enemy breakthrough.

The so-called infiltration could hardly be prevented in individual cases. It often happened through snowshoe troops or enemy units sneaking in on sleds under the cover of darkness. The fight was essentially about the supply routes. The performance of German troops in this regard deserves a special place of honor in the history of this winter campaign. The transport difficulties exceeded all expectations. Trucks would not start in the bitter cold, tracked vehicles could not get through the snow, engines froze. Often, the only means of transport left was the sled. Even our horses could not cope with such a climate. Trains often failed completely; and the difficulties of supplying the troops by air transport can be easily imagined even by a layperson.

In such a campaign full of dangers, surrounded by nothing but snow and ice, sometimes for weeks without mail, without greetings, even without signs from home, facing an enemy who stormed forward in ever-renewing waves without regard for human and material losses, foreseeing the imminent exhaustion of food and ammunition, the German soldier stood. He knew he had to hold out. This was not just a command; his conscience and historical

sense of responsibility demanded it of him. He was clear that if he failed, an unimaginable catastrophe would ensue. The example of Napoleon, often seen as an omen over this winter elsewhere, was only an incentive for him. It must not repeat itself. He had to muster the strength, patience, endurance, but also the inner strength to defend and hold his ground against the enemy's onslaught of men, weapons, and elements.

Who has not noticed that the faces of our soldiers in the East have changed over the course of this winter? You see it in the newsreels, in photographs, or when you speak with them. Their eyes have a peculiar gleam. They have seen more than human eyes usually see. Their features have become harder and more stone-like. A smile on these faces looks like kindness. Our soldiers no longer talk as much as after the Polish campaign or the Western offensive; but what they say carries more weight. They just shake their heads at the inconveniences of those at home, as if to say: "We wish we had your worries!" It is one of the most important and grateful tasks of the home front to understand their soldiers correctly. They do not want appeasement, much less pity. They do not demand resounding speeches of praise or loud recognition. They only want us to learn to understand them and for the home front to willingly and gladly fulfill a lighter duty as they have fulfilled and continue to fulfill a heavier one.

Now you see them in the newsreels standing before an overturned compass, shaving off their stubbly beards. If the sun shines somewhere, they use a free half-hour to stretch out in its rays, almost like someone who was near drowning takes a deep breath for the first time again. They lay wooden planks over mud or mire that covers paths and roads knee-deep, or they lie full length in the muck to get a defective engine running again. And when they look into the camera, you see a simple, honest worker's or farmer's face, covered in mud, which they wipe off with their sleeve, as if to say: "If only that were the worst of it!"

We received letters from the Eastern Front from young lieutenants who are now company commanders. They write with a seriousness and objectivity as if they had sixty years under their belts. They would probably rather bite off the finger holding the pencil than sugarcoat anything. Sometimes they particularly liked something in politics or warfare; then they give sparing praise. Sometimes they find something that provokes their criticism; then they are just as sparing in their expressions of disapproval.

Only when they speak of the Führer or their task do you notice how they start to glow. When the Führer took over the supreme command of the army, streams of such letters arrived at home. Never did the Führer do anything for which the troops at the front thanked him as much as for this. From that moment on, the German soldier felt secure again. Everyone felt personally addressed. The hardships he had to endure became more bearable, the strains of winter found their temporal limitation even in his imagination, frost, snow, and cold were no longer as cutting and tormenting as before. The structure of a gigantic defensive front became visible and conceivable again even to the simple soldier, who might have been stationed in a seemingly hopeless position. He felt that he himself, however small and modest his own existence might seem in an extensive million-strong front, was called to make history.

And wasn't it so? Didn't an unknown lieutenant or non-commissioned officer sometimes hold a section to the last breath with a few men, and in doing so, apart from the personal example, which never fails to have its encouraging and invigorating effect, also write the lines of history with his blood in the white wasteland of the far East? In war, more often and visibly than in normal times, the seemingly small and insignificant can also be the great, and the seemingly great can also be the small and insignificant. Who asks in such hard times about what the citizen at home writes with ink on white paper? Life has broken open again in its deepest foundations. We look into the mysterious process of history's creation. The raw material of national existence lies naked and bare before us, waiting to be shaped. The power process, which always underlies historical growth, is stripped of all diplomatic and social polish. Nations stand man to man again, fighting for their existence. Whoever fails here has lost, usually for a long time, if not forever.

When the Führer last spoke before the German Reichstag and, as if freed from an enormous burden, gave the dramatic report on the past winter, it was as if an entire nation held its breath so as not to miss a word. Everyone sensed what he had to say; and in his conversation with his people, he grew beyond himself. One saw him in spirit at the head of the world's best manhood, his soldiers, one of whom he was in the World War and the first of whom he became in this war, bravely and unwaveringly advancing, looking danger boldly in the face, not avoiding it but stepping firmly towards it and thus overcoming it.

What could come after all this that we would not master? The great test has been passed. Whether we struggled with fate or took it on willingly and bravely overcame it, it is ours. Never in the future will one be able to speak of German heroism without first and foremost remembering this barbaric winter at the Volkhov and Demyansk, at Yukhnov and Rzhev, at the Donets and Kerch; and through the centuries, the name under which it was proven will shine:

The Eastern Front.

Dismantling Illusions

May 25, 1942

An experienced eye can currently observe a slow but general dismantling of the illusions of the past winter war on the enemy's side. Both in Moscow and in London and Washington, efforts are being made to view the situation on the Eastern Front more realistically and to wistfully bid farewell to the wishes, hopes, and delusions that were indulged in over the past months. We had expected such a development. Even during the long winter, as hard and perilous as it may have been for us individually, we were never in doubt that the enemy side, with its unending series of victory reports, intended to launch a grand bluff maneuver, but one day would face disillusionment with all its inevitable embarrassing consequences. Although the time has not yet come for TASS, Reuter, and United Press to honor the plain truth, there is an effort to abandon daydreams and spread some clarity about the true state of affairs among their own peoples. The lies and distortions that still occur in this process are, in a way, rear-guard actions and seem more amusing than disturbing to the connoisseur.

Of course, the enemy will never openly and straightforwardly admit that their news policy misrepresented the situation. It seems to be in the nature of democracy to cling to a stance once taken as long as it can be maintained, but then to adopt the opposite one with sovereign confidence, as if it had always been held. We know this democratic procedure well from our internal political struggle, and we can evaluate it correctly today. Above all, the Jews, who still dominate the enemy's news policy, are skilled in the art of persistent lying. They resemble the shrewd and experienced con artist who only offers his hands for cuffs when there is no way out. Until then, the chance of his success lies in the confidence of his demeanor. The truly innocent often come under suspicion more readily than seasoned criminals. The Jews in Germany did not lower their sails two or three weeks before our takeover of power in January 1933; on the contrary, on January 29, they were still writing the most fiery editorials in Berlin's newspapers, eloquently asserting the invulnerability of their position, declaring Hitler a thing of the past, and by the evening of the next day, they were populating the sleeping cars of night trains to Vienna, Prague, Basel, and Paris.

While a connoisseur of Jewish-democratic mentality can generally predict such developments from experience, the layperson has hardly any means to foresee the slow collapse of the enemy's power and ideological world. They only notice it when it actually occurs. Therefore, it is extraordinarily difficult for the average mind today to see through the tendencies and intentions of the enemy's news policy. Those professionally forced to follow reports from Moscow, London, and Washington during the past winter had to possess the most precise knowledge of the actual situation to avoid despair. To them, it is not unexpected that a few days ago, the British news agency "Exchange Telegraph," which had already captured Kharkov, Smolensk, and Taganrog in January and even stood near Warsaw at one point, quietly and unpathetically bids farewell to the illusions of the winter and explains with feigned sincerity that the goals of the Bolshevik winter campaign had not been achieved. Naturally, there is no reference to the reports of this agency in January or February; one wouldn't even be surprised if this news swamp accused us of inventing the Soviet victories they claimed to deceive and mislead the enemy.

Similarly, the handling of the tonnage war in the press is absurd. We won't even recall the repeated claims by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt, and especially Mr. Knox that the U-boat war no longer posed a danger to the enemy side because German U-boats had been destroyed except for small remnants. The long series of tonnage sinkings, which has continued without interruption to this day, proves the opposite. They help themselves with the brazen excuse that they produce more shipping space than our U-boats can sink. At the same time, they claim to manufacture 60,000 tanks, several hundred thousand aircraft, warships in unlimited quantities, and transport food and raw materials to the extent that they don't know where to put them. These arch-liars are not at all embarrassed to admit that neither in England nor in the USA have they managed to solve unemployment, and they complain about the laziness and lack of patriotism among workers who want to earn a lot of money but do as little as possible for it.

Everyone here knows the difficulties of implementing a comprehensive armament program in all areas. We are not overly squeamish about applying rather radical methods to ensure what is necessary and desirable. We harbor no illusions about the unchangeable fact that if one mainly builds transports, it is at the expense of warship construction, and if

one mainly builds tanks, it is at the expense of aircraft construction. Such considerations apparently do not exist for the enemy side. They seem to handle these difficulties almost effortlessly. They manage the miracle of producing transports, warships, tanks, and aircraft in astronomical numbers. The loss of their raw material bases only encourages the execution of this construction program. Gigantic sinkings of entire transport fleets are met with a smile, and they can still afford widespread unemployment despite all these accumulating obstacles, without it somehow harming the construction of transports, warships, tanks, and aircraft.

The Japanese recently responded with dignity and conviction to the deceitful Anglo-American victory reports about the naval battle in the Coral Sea, stating that those who lose their honor also lose their mind. Neither Mr. Churchill nor Mr. Roosevelt are currently able to confess to their peoples the catastrophic losses they suffered in the Coral Sea. Their measure of failure is nearly full. They can hardly afford another severe defeat. What else can they do but turn the blows they themselves received into blows dealt to the enemy? Thus, we witness the shameful spectacle of New York raising the victory flags while the USA suffers one of its most devastating naval defeats. Here, one has the opportunity to admire the political swindler who brazenly and cheekily walks through the casino hall in a tuxedo and, when confronted with his identity, puts on his most innocent and harmless smile. Even when he is handcuffed, he will still hesitate to confess.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill hardly have anything to reproach each other for in this regard. They are brothers in arms and wear the same hats. When Mr. Roosevelt was recently asked if he intended to reciprocate Mr. Churchill's visit to Washington with a visit to London, he replied: No, he felt safer in Washington than in London; he would only come after victory—then he will probably never see London again—also, he did not want to cause unnecessary difficulties for the British police, as such a visit would likely come to nothing. As you can see, a round, neat answer that also represents a round, neat embarrassment. Mr. Churchill is not to be outdone. He delivers a Sunday speech over the radio, which his bought journalists praise as the rhetorical masterpiece of our century, and this First Lord of Defeats has the audacity to look back on six months of rich successes after the loss of Hong Kong and Singapore, Burma, and the Dutch possessions. What to make of such tirades can be seen from the fact that the same Mr. Churchill declared in the same speech that no preparations for a German offensive were noticeable

in the East, while at the same time, two days earlier, without his slightest knowledge, the German assault battle on the Kerch Peninsula was raging, which ended three days later with a complete victory for the German forces.

We have often tried to imagine what the German people would do to us if we made such disastrous mistakes one after another. Although our people live under what the average Englishman considers the pressure of a tyrannical dictatorship that hardly allows them to breathe freely, they have nevertheless retained enough intelligence and common sense to react sourly to a similar game with their patience and tolerance. It may be that those neutral journalists in London are right when they report that Mr. Churchill's speech generated a wave of optimism in England. The British people were also optimistic last summer when Mr. Churchill invented the non-stop offensive. They were also optimistic when fed with Soviet victory bulletins in the winter. They were also optimistic when the Japanese attacked Hong Kong and Singapore, when Mr. Cripps flew to India, when the British attempted to land at St. Nazaire and Boulogne, when American loudspeakers declared they would master the U-boat threat, when London expected a revolution in Italy, when they led the British Empire to believe an uprising against the regime had broken out in Berlin and the guns visible in the government quarter on Armed Forces Day were aimed at the rebellious people. Optimism must be a commodity in England that is cheap to buy. But it is very much in question whether such junk can remove facts from the world.

We do not believe so. So far in this war, we have stuck to the facts and intend to continue doing so. Our news policy may sometimes be somewhat terse, but it considers it beneath its dignity to claim or spread anything false. We believe that trust and composure serve better over the long duration of the war than occasional optimism based on deceptions, false assumptions, and illusions. Since the beginning of this war, we have continuously strived to sharpen the German people's awareness of the true state of affairs. We speak less through speeches and let the facts speak. As for self-deception, we consider it the most disastrous mistake one can make in war. The English build illusions and must eventually dismantle them. Such a process will one day take its bitter revenge. The fact that Mr. Churchill has temporarily had luck with this tactic proves nothing against the correctness of this principle.

In contrast, the German people live in the clear air of sober and realistic recognition. We are used to carefully weighing chances and counter-chances against

each other. We do not deceive ourselves, and therefore we do not need to deceive our enemies.

Our belief in ultimate success is based not on illusions but on facts, and we will win because facts are always stronger than illusions in the end.

For What?

May 31, 1942

The longer the war continues, the more the enemy side attempts to align and parallel their war aims with those of the Axis powers, if not in reality, then at least in propaganda. While in 1939 and 1940, it was sufficient to merely fight Hitler and his regime and advocate for the maintenance of world democracy, today there is hardly an English or American newspaper that doesn't passionately advocate for a more reasonable world order, for the fair distribution of raw materials, for the freedom of the seas and transport routes, for the social reorganization of peoples, and against capitalist and plutocratic exploitation, against imperialistic greed for power, and selfish profit-seeking. The well-known English writer Bernard Shaw recently stated in an interview that no nation would likely emerge from this war without a strong Nazi infection, and even the Soviet Union has only recorded successes where it imitates our style of leadership and governance. So, if this development were not merely on paper, we could be extraordinarily pleased with it.

But it is only on paper. In the enemy states, there is evidently a vague sense that the old World War slogans can no longer stir anyone. And since nothing appetizing grows in their own intellectual garden, they pick the salad from ours. If this continues, in some time, the man on the street in England and the USA might wonder why we are still fighting, considering that what Churchill and Roosevelt are trying to achieve through war is what Hitler has always sought to achieve in peace.

Our internal political opponents did exactly the same thing in 1931 and 1932, when National Socialism began to mobilize the masses, and the parliamentary parties could only justify their existence through intellectual borrowings from us. No one wanted to hear about the much-praised democracy anymore. Everyone opposed the mismanagement of the parties, from which no national leadership could emerge. Every political group placed the concept of the people's community at the top of their program, and reconciliation of the classes was the universally accepted high goal of all political efforts, from the communists to the German Nationalists. They only

differed from us in the simple fact that we wanted to fight for the new state with Hitler, while they held the view that Hitler and his party had to be destroyed first so that this state could be built.

One must admit that it is at least unwise to go to a shoemaker to have a new suit made. Just as unwise was it then to fight parliamentarianism with the parliamentary parties, as it is today to fight imperialism and plutocracy with Churchill and Roosevelt for a new continental order. They and their systems are the beneficiaries of the evil. They do not want a new world, no matter how enthusiastically they rave about it. For if they had wanted it, why did they declare war on us when we were ready to bring it about with them in peace? It doesn't take lengthy arguments to show that plutocracy here intends to attempt a grand plagiarism, that it lives only on intellectual theft from us, and that its real war aims are so discredited that it no longer dares to publicly articulate them.

That's how it is! The war was started because they claimed they could not reconcile with our way of life, and already during this war, we can record the triumph that the enemy side can only endure the war intellectually by declaring our way of life as the actual goal of their war.

What a strange transformation and what an astonishing reversal of the political thrust of the war! What a historical justification for the clarity of our goals and for the legitimacy of our political-military struggle! We have not deviated an inch from the position we took when the war was forced upon us, let alone moved toward our enemies. But they are forced to rush toward us in seven-league boots; otherwise, they risk falling behind their own peoples.

Among us, the phrase is often used that this war is a people's war and therefore must end in a people's victory; which, by the way, was enough reason for Lord Halifax to appropriate it and claim that it is also the English view. Aside from that, this phrase says exactly what is meant. Never before in the past was a war so carried and fought by the entire people as this one. It concerns us all. It sometimes cuts more harshly, sometimes more gently, into the life of each one of us. It demands such heavy sacrifices from the entire nation that it would be a screaming historical injustice if the victory did not benefit the entire nation. There is no layer of Germany with any political

influence that does not want this. This is the opinion of everyone who has a say, from the Führer down to the last official and soldier.

All of us should be better off after the victory than we were before the war. In a new order, Europe must be structured and organized in such a way that it can sustain itself. The material prerequisites for its prosperity and social happiness will be so secured that they will no longer be exposed to any danger, as far as humanly possible. This must be the last war for the European reorganization, and its outcome will be that our continent, under the leadership of the Axis powers, can freely develop its economic, intellectual, and cultural forces without being hindered by plutocratic anti-continental interests.

This concerns not only the European peoples in their entirety but also every single one of their citizens. Above all, it concerns us Germans. We have not sat at a fully set national table since 1914. Since the first World War, hunger has been our kitchen master, and that we still exist as a nation at all, we owe not to any wealth of means and possibilities but only to our diligence, our great ability to make a virtue out of necessity, and our brilliant talent for organization and improvisation. But a nation of nearly a hundred million cannot live hand-to-mouth forever. We were hardly able to multiply without risking a famine catastrophe with two or three consecutive poor harvests. That would still be bearable if it were the same everywhere in the world. Meanwhile, vast lands and raw material areas elsewhere lay unused. Coffee was dumped into the sea by the millions of quintals, and locomotives were fired with cotton because we couldn't buy them and they didn't know what to do with the surplus. It was clear that this evil needed to be addressed. German farm boys marched as soldiers through Ukraine, lifting black, fertile soil with their hands from the roadside, miles and miles of unplowed land, while back home there was no butter and too little bread because there hadn't been enough rain in April.

Where would the world order end up if intelligent, brave, and resourceful peoples who, for reasons not up for debate here, hadn't utilized their political opportunities in history, were condemned to a pauper's existence forever, while more primitive peoples, who lived in abundance because they were more primitive and therefore more brutal and ruthless, could do nothing with it? Is it our fault that, given richer national opportunities, we would probably achieve even greater national output than

today under the opposite conditions? How can it be historically recognized as a compelling reason that the diligent and strong must be kept lean so that they don't become too powerful?

Today, every German soldier, worker, and farmer knows what we are fighting and working for. This is not a war for throne and altar; it is a war for grain and bread, for a fully set breakfast, lunch, and dinner table, a war for the material conditions to solve the social question, the question of housing and road construction, the building of a war, merchant, and passenger fleet, the construction of Volkswagen and tractors, of theaters and cinemas for the people in every last village, a war for raw materials, for rubber, for iron and ores, in short, it is a war for a dignified national existence that we have so far been unable to lead as modestly poor.

It may be a good reputation to say that a people knows how to get by with little and has developed a Spartan way of life almost into an art of the obvious. But this reputation should not become a profession, and national poverty must not go so far as to no longer allow the full development of national abilities and strengths. And that was the case with us. It may be that this awakened other energies in our people that significantly underlie our current power. But finally, a people must also see the fulfillment of its national ideal brought closer. One cannot fight forever for ideals, and in the long run, it is more a sign of a people's good-naturedness than its wisdom and political foresight to provide the cultural fertilizer for the world. We, for our part, are tired of this role. We now finally want to cash in as a people. It is our hottest desire to enjoy the fruits of our eternal labor, struggle, effort, and endurance at the end of this war.

Among all the other things that move us as a nation in this gigantic struggle, the longing for happiness and peace, for prosperity and secure existence is one of the main drives of our will to victory and our tenacity in pursuing this goal. Each of us secretly wishes for a future life that is better than the one he left when he took up the rifle or went to the plow and lathe to work doubly hard to provide his people with daily bread and our soldiers with weapons and ammunition for this war. In our minds, we then see a happy people before our eyes, in a land full of blooming beauty, crisscrossed by the silver ribbons of wide roads open to the modest car of the common man. Along their edges lie tidy villages and sprawling cities with clean and spacious houses, where large families live because they offer enough space.

On the vast fields of the East, yellow grain sways, enough and more than enough to feed our people and all of Europe. Work will be a joy again, and it will join hands with a wealth of affirmation of life, expressed in roaring celebrations and reflective peace. Theaters and music halls, cinemas and community rooms in the city

and countryside will fill with cheerful people every evening. Art will come to the people, and the people will come to art. Not only our children should enjoy this better life; we also want to conquer it for ourselves and find in its happiness the historical reward for over a quarter-century of struggle, worry, work, and hardship.

We can only smile pityingly when the imperialist plutocrats like Churchill and Roosevelt accuse the Führer of wanting to conquer the world to satisfy his demonic ambition. No, he called upon the nation to fight and work to defend the elementary conditions of its life, threatened by its enemies, and beyond that to secure the conditions for national prosperity that give our people as much earthly happiness as they deserve.

That is our war aim. It concerns us all. We cannot lose anything except the narrowness of our lives, which is the cause of our national and ethnic distress.

So if one asks us what we are fighting for, we don't need to answer with phrases. We say clearly and plainly, for a life that is worth being lived by a hundred million people.

Heroes and Movie Heroes

June 7, 1942

Nothing is more characteristic of the Jewish-democratic worldview, lifestyle, and historical perspective than the gradual but almost eerily inevitable revaluation of all values towards the negative. We still have so many examples from the time of the republican system that it hardly seems necessary to cite them. The hero was the fool, and the coward was the honorable man. It was better to be thrice a slave and alive than once free and dead. The father of a large family was ridiculed as a laughable figure, while the homosexual playboy was paraded as the ideal figure of new German masculinity. The great men of our history were either degenerate cretins or ruthless blood-drinkers. Not the murderer but the murdered was guilty. Capital criminals were depicted as souls whose inner lives provided welcome material for sensitive psychoanalytical studies. In short, the hero ideal was, as one of the most prominent Jewish spokesmen could declare in the first Berlin Jewish newspaper, the dumbest of all ideals, and the dead of the World War fell on the field of dishonor.

Looking back, one might call such an attitude schizophrenic. But it was more than that. Those who displayed it and pleaded for it with glittering intellect in public did not even believe in it themselves; on the contrary, they used it to slowly but surely undermine the thought and emotional world of their host people, making them ripe for the great intellectual upheaval we know all too well by the name of Bolshevism. Its forerunner is democracy. It means the revaluation of values in the sense just described, the path at the end of which lies chaos.

We can observe the same process today on the enemy side. It is the classic proof that their intellectual warfare is primarily conducted by Jews, who need not be heard on Radio London to conclude their Semitic identity. This also explains the otherwise often completely inexplicable perversion of the enemy's thought and emotional world, which has long since become accustomed to seeing victories in defeats and retreats and catastrophic setbacks for the opponent in historical battles of annihilation. According to this view, one wins the war most simply by not preparing for it or only

inadequately, by undertaking one retreat after another, by seeing opportunities for encouragement in the loss of vital economic and strategic positions, by presenting the greed of plutocracy as a new social order, by burning churches and murdering priests by the hundreds of thousands and receiving the predicate of a noble fighter for God in return, by imprisoning 180 million people in a physical and mental prison, lowering them to the lowest possible standard of living, and then convincing them that this is paradise on earth.

The evaluation of people themselves is done in a similar way. Soldiers like the English and Americans, who are defeated everywhere they appear, are therefore toweringly superior to their opponents, both in weaponry and morale. Generals whose sole merit lies in timely retreating from the enemy, either with their troops or alone or with their families, are field marshals who can only be mentioned alongside Alexander, Caesar, Frederick the Great, or Napoleon. True military leaders, however, who stick with their troops, never think of capitulation even in the most desperate situations, remain steadfast in hardship and death, and defy harsh fate, deserve barely a mention.

For example, the so-called General MacArthur in the USA is blown up to be a true national hero. In Germany, however, Major General Scherer is recognized with two or three lines in the OKW report. How do they differ, and which of the two is a hero and which a deserter?

In the East, during the past winter campaign, a German force was cut off and held out on its own for 107 days. During this time, 128 major and severe enemy attacks were launched against this force, which responded with 10 counterattacks and 43 counter-thrusts. The officers of the isolated group lovingly and admiringly report how their major general stayed with them and their troops, always understanding and open to every soldier, sharing their concerns and becoming a constant source of spiritual strength during the hard times of isolation. For three days, the enclosed group was entirely without supplies; then the extremely difficult and dangerous supply by the Luftwaffe began, performing acts of heroism and dedication for their comrades. Almost the entire time, only felled fruit trees and a barricade of branches were the only terrain reinforcement in the fight against enemy forces attacking from all four directions. Our soldiers had no tanks available, while the Soviets repeatedly advanced with new, refreshed tank forces. For our troops, there

was no warm shelter against the barbaric cold. The enemy artillery soon destroyed the last remnants of houses. The soldier had to endure without being able to dig into the frozen ground. He didn't even have a piece of barbed wire in front of his foxhole.

"We couldn't prevent the enemy from also firing at the houses where we had bedded our wounded. Then we had to move them out again and find another place for them," General Scherer simply and unpretentiously explains in an interview.

On May 6, the OKW report stated: "In the northern sector of the Eastern Front, German troops in a daring, well-prepared attack restored the connection to an important stronghold cut off by the enemy. The garrison of this stronghold, under the command of Major General Scherer, has held out with outstanding bravery against numerous superior enemy attacks since January 21, 1942, in fierce defensive battles." On the day this connection was restored, the stronghold counted half its soldiers as wounded and half as rifle carriers.

The Jewish-democratic world press took no notice of this event. And now the counterpart.

The Japanese fight against Corregidor began after the evacuation of Bataan on April 10 and ended after 26 days with the USA garrison's surrender on May 6. On April 10, 60,000 men had requested an armistice on Bataan. 3,500 had escaped to Corregidor. General MacArthur, their commander, had already left Bataan with his family on March 10, not without urging his remaining troops to duty with courage, bravery, and perseverance. His wife advised the soldiers' wives to stay with their husbands and followed this advice by accompanying her husband on the flight. From Australia, General MacArthur issued boastful statements, culminating in the claim that he would march into Tokyo as a victor. Meanwhile, the Japanese took 12,495 soldiers prisoner on Corregidor. The death toll at the surrender was exactly 640. Even by American accounts, there were still enough supplies to continue the fight for another six months. Nor was there any lack of weapons or ammunition to continue the battle.

Corregidor is one of the strongest natural fortresses in the world. The entire island is undermined with extensive defensive positions,

magazines, command positions, etc. The underground galleries connecting the individual defensive positions are wide enough to accommodate a double-track transport railway. $500 million had been spent on the fortifications in peacetime. The USA public spoke of Corregidor as the Gibraltar of the United States. American experts considered it impregnable. Added to this was the insular location, which did not allow for a tank attack but restricted the offensive to artillery fire and air attacks. Of course, bombproof shelters, clinics, operating rooms, etc., were sufficiently available for the wounded. However, the American soldiers apparently preferred captivity in Japan to staying there. What should have prompted them to be braver than their general, who had safe ground under his feet in Australia and was explicitly confirmed by a grotesquely inflated propaganda fraud to be the greatest living hero of the USA? Here we see the perverse reversal of the facts and the glorification of cowardly flight in a promotional campaign entirely incomprehensible to our understanding. This General MacArthur could only be mildly confirmed as having forgotten to get off in Hollywood.

The USA press declares that the defense of Corregidor, like that of Bataan, is one of the bravest deeds in American history. The London "Times," already well-practiced in this war in praising brilliant strategic retreats, claims that Corregidor can only be compared to the Battle of Thermopylae, and the Boston radio station calls the island fort's resistance a pure miracle.

But that's not all. The cowardly fleeing General MacArthur is touted by the American Jewish press as a suitable candidate for the presidency of the United States. Monuments to him are already being unveiled in various USA cities. The population wears his badge in their buttonholes, and in England, he receives the highest honor one can bestow: he is given an honorary niche in Madame Tussaud's famous wax museum. United Press adds that a body and uniform will be added to his head model.

And here we have happily returned to schizophrenia. Even if all this grotesque nonsense could be dismissed with the remark that, naturally, the one-eyed man is king among the blind and that a country without history and culture must have different concepts of heroism than a country looking back on a two-thousand-year glorious history, the matter also has its serious side. One might question to what extent Jewish intellectualism can corrupt and stupefy a people, and in answering this question lies the danger that modern

humanity faces if it does not put a stop to this intellectual and emotional softening process. We have only highlighted it here with a comparison. The intellectual warfare of our time offers dozens of such examples daily.

Hero or movie hero, that is the question here. To whom the goddess of victory will ultimately grant the laurel at the end of the tremendous struggle of our time should be beyond doubt for the historically minded. We have a whole series of proud, illustrious names to counter the artificially inflated Talmudic greatness of the other side. They serve the greatest military genius of our history, and behind them march millions of German soldiers, tested a thousand

times in battle and victory, in hardship and deprivation.

They will enter the history of our people, and their names will shine for future generations long after the fleeting fame of American movie heroes has melted away like the wax of their figures in Madame Tussaud's wax museum.

The Air and Nerve War

June 14, 1942

The war has entered a stage for the enemy where any means seem acceptable to possibly still achieve a tolerable outcome, despite all unfavorable, not to say desperate, odds for them. Rarely in history have the scales been so unevenly distributed in a military conflict, one concerning the existence or non-existence of the involved nations, as they are here. While the Axis powers can look back on a long, almost uninterrupted string of proud victories, the enemy side sees failure after failure and defeat after defeat. For future historians, it will always be an unsolvable psychological mystery how their peoples could still believe in a good outcome, seeing eternal retreats as the prelude to an impending victory. This can only be explained by their peculiar mentality, which has been so distorted by a reckless and unscrupulous propaganda that they lack any proper judgment.

The military possibilities still remaining for the plutocratic-Bolshevik coalition appear extremely limited at this current stage. While London, Washington, and Moscow try to shroud themselves in a mysterious aura and respond to probing questions from serious parts of the public with dark, threatening hints, every knowledgeable person knows that there is little more behind it than powerless bravado. They feel trapped in their own snare. The war they so ruthlessly prepared and instigated is starting to backfire against its instigators. Although they are still capable of inflicting damage on the hated enemy, disrupting his possessions or the peaceful labor of his cities and villages, this cannot alter the overall war situation. Events are already unfolding according to their own laws.

It wouldn't be Mr. Churchill at the helm in England if London didn't try to achieve through blind, destructive terror what is entirely unattainable for the enemy side through decent and fair warfare. British newspapers currently write about the air war with a cynicism that leaves nothing to be desired. These discussions provide an insightful glimpse into the English national character and offer extraordinarily instructive lessons on what would await us if we ever found ourselves at the mercy of the British-plutocratic ruling class. But thankfully, what is revealed here in naked and

brutal rawness is not a sign of strength but only of weakness and impotent rage. Whoever curses and threatens is always in the wrong. We have never needed to predict a dark, infernal end for the English; we know that their historical mistakes will lead to a historical catastrophe. We have also never demanded the bombing war against civilians out of arbitrariness, revenge, or dark feelings of hatred. We defend ourselves and use in the fight for our national existence the means that the enemy imposes on us at any given time.

Mr. Churchill, on the other hand, appears to be in a rage over his previous military failures and, despite all the noise, is unable to yield to Soviet pressure and establish a second front in Western Europe to relieve the Bolsheviks. If there were even a slight possibility for this, his adventurous nature would certainly seize it eagerly. Besides everything else, he lacks the necessary tonnage for this. He knows as well as we do that any attempt to land on the continent would lead to an encounter that would result in a second, worse Dunkirk for England in a short time. He cannot afford such a defeat again without plunging the Empire into its most deadly crisis. Thus, he has no choice but to make dark threats and try to satisfy the increasingly urgent demands of the Bolsheviks in a less dangerous way. His installments are the night raids of the Royal Air Force on the German civilian population.

We have never doubted that this type of warfare could inflict some severe damage on us. However, the question is whether it can fundamentally influence the military situation and whether the successes Mr. Churchill expects from it will even partially materialize. It needs no emphasis that the affected German civilian population suffers bitterly under these British terror measures. They know they have the sympathy and warm support of the entire German people, who watch and admire their conduct and endurance. But London is mistaken if it believes that terror can break German morale. We have emphasized hundreds of times and will repeat to excess that today's German people cannot be compared with the people of 1918 and that our moral collapse then was a one-time exception, not the rule.

Equally absurd is the English assumption that such terrorist air raids could decisively impact our armaments or supply economy. The damage inflicted is not significant enough to cripple our war efforts. If the English knew what they actually destroy during their night raids and what they merely believe they destroy, they wouldn't place such exaggerated importance on this aspect of the air war. The losses they suffer during their

nightly forays are enormous, far exceeding the contingent they can afford. Even if Mr. Churchill tries to reduce the percentage of downed planes by artificially inflating the numbers of attacking aircraft, he may impress the political rabble but cannot deceive us. The enemy side is not too choosy about providing numerical evidence. During the major British air raid on Cologne on the night of May 30 to 31, we mourned a total of 305 dead. This number is certainly high, and the affected families have suffered immense grief due to British arbitrariness. However, when American and subsequently English newspapers report a death toll of 20,000, one can see how far their wishes diverge from reality.

To date, we have mourned 7,430 deaths from enemy bombings over the course of just over two and a half years of war until June 1, 1942. No one will have the callousness to downplay or trivialize these numbers. These victims, too, have fallen for the freedom of the Reich. They stand as accusers against the English war effort, which has always been marked by cynical brutality, now only living up to its old reputation. However, one gains a proper perspective on the scale of this number when compared to the 15,039 people who fell victim to modern traffic in Germany over the last two and a half peacetime years. This is not to compare the value of deaths but only to put British boasts in their place.

Reports from all cities attacked by the English uniformly indicate that the morale of the affected population is beyond reproach. The sufferings associated with these terror acts are not taken lightly—how could they be?—but people feel they are on a crucial outpost of our civilian war effort. They clearly understand Mr. Churchill's intentions with these attacks and refuse to gratify him by weakening. The British maneuver is too transparent to succeed; moreover, the English have openly expressed their intentions. One cannot hope to break the morale of a population through terror if one cynically admits to trying to do so, especially when the people know precisely what the consequence of weakness would be. The blows the English deal us are promptly and precisely returned. We regret having to respond this way, but Mr. Churchill wants it this way. The Führer warned him earnestly in his last Reichstag speech, but he chose the path of arbitrariness and will be repaid in kind. This is a cumbersome and mutually costly method of warfare, but the one who started it bears the blame.

The nature of terror is that it can only be broken by terror, not encouraged or strengthened by yielding. Terror and counter-terror cost lives, but they are incomparable to the lives lost if one yields to terror. Violence usually only yields to violence. This is the most fundamental law of life. Therefore, when we counter British brutalization methods with similar measures, we are only acting according to this law. As painful as the losses of venerable historical and artistic monuments in Lübeck, Rostock, and Cologne, as well as Bath, York, and Canterbury, may be for a culturally sensitive person—and we count ourselves among this slowly dying breed in the world—these losses are not on our conscience but on that of the ruthless criminal currently at the head of the British Empire. We know all too well that he lacks any organ for such considerations. He belongs to that type of hardened and coarse plutocratic nature whose only life ideals are money, comfortable living, and, at best, alcohol. It is England's misfortune to be under his leadership. Not only the British Empire, but all civilized humanity must pay dearly for this fact, and were it not for us, the cultural world would face its demise.

Therefore, we must defend ourselves against his methods of warfare; and because we are determined to confront him with the same brutal means he uses to terrorize our people, he will fail. His air war is also a nerve war. He conducts it to wear down the morale of the German population in air-threatened areas. He doesn't care whether he pays more dearly than he collects. He tries again in this way and will suffer shipwreck here as he has everywhere else. The sacrifices we have to make will pay off one day. So we must bear them; we seek to avenge them as much as our worldwide war effort permits. The counter-sacrifices England must make have a very near and tangible figure to turn to: Mr. Churchill.

It would give the London and New York Jewish press too much honor to even address their blood- and vengeance-thirsty comments on the air and nerve war. The Jews are playing their most outrageous game in this war, and they will have to pay for it with the eradication of their race in Europe and perhaps far beyond. They are not to be taken seriously in this conflict, as they represent neither British nor American interests but exclusively Jewish ones. We are fighting a war against our enemies who threaten our most fundamental conditions of life. This war is all-encompassing. Its sacrifices will one day be proportional to the magnitude of the victory we achieve. Nothing can change this. Our enemies are only capable of complicating the

inevitable development for a certain time. But this will only make it all the more unstoppable in the end.

Here, too, the saying applies: What doesn't kill us only makes us stronger.

The Tonnage War

June 21, 1942

Nowhere does the enemy feel so vulnerable as in sea transport. The boastful declarations of Churchill and Roosevelt, claiming that the danger of German U-boats has been eliminated, are no longer heard. On the contrary, these premature statements have been replaced by a concerned silence, occasionally interrupted by worried voices suggesting that the sinking war has entered its most acute and dangerous stage, posing the cardinal question of Anglo-American warfare.

For the first time since September 1939, a leading London newspaper notes that if this continues, England may and will lose the war. Various American newspapers agree that the Germans are sinking more ships than America and England can build, and the losses of German U-boats are far fewer than what the British and American admiralties claim. This is a very measured description of the danger facing the Anglo-Saxon powers, making it understandable why the enemy public demands to finally be told the truth about the current state of the tonnage war, instead of being fed vague platitudes or misled by inflated figures.

We foresaw this development. When Mr. Churchill officially declared 15 months ago that the number and tonnage of sunken transport ships would no longer be regularly published for reasons of military secrecy, we knew what it signified. The British Admiralty's reasoning was too transparent. What could they keep secret from our U-boats, which in most cases know exactly what they have sunk? England can only keep the number and tonnage of ships lost to mines and force majeure secret from us. These numbers will likely increase the already significant figures known to us, which have caused quite a stir in the British-American public.

This has led to the sea war entering a life-threatening stage for England and the USA. Recently, English newspapers rightly stated that sea dominance is not a theory but a daily practice that must be proven, and even the most powerful fleet is useless if it cannot fulfill its primary task of keeping vital sea and transport routes to England open. Unlike us, Great

Britain relies on the freedom and safety of the seas. We cover our needs mainly on the European continent; England depends on vital supplies from its empire and distant parts of the world. If these supply routes are cut off and England cannot reconnect them somehow, the gradual paralysis of the British homeland is inevitable. The collapse of British warfare is then only a matter of time.

We harbor no illusions about the impact of this process. The tonnage war is not the only, but one of the most important means to checkmate England. Thus, it is understandable that Churchill and Roosevelt are trying their best to conceal the current situation from their public, hide behind military secrecy, and feverishly seek ways to counter the German U-boat threat effectively and reduce the sinking numbers to a tolerable level for their continued warfare. Since this is much harder in practice than in propaganda, they rely on propaganda for now.

Mr. Churchill is undoubtedly more experienced in this area than Mr. Roosevelt; hence he sets the tone. They deny anything that can still be disputed with a seemingly credible face. They usually only confess when the crew of a sunken ship lands in a neutral port and provides irrefutable evidence. Then, they dismiss it with a wave of the hand. If there are too many such cases within a few days, causing unrest in the British or American public and demanding clarification, Churchill or Roosevelt send out a spokesperson who, while unable to downplay the U-boat threat, points to the massive shipbuilding efforts on both sides of the Atlantic that will soon more than replace the lost transport space.

We expect more Churchill-Roosevelt propaganda tricks to mislead the Anglo-Saxon peoples and divert their attention from the looming danger as the situation becomes more precarious for the enemy in the coming weeks and months. They will surely try to ridicule our figures with bluffs or imaginative statistics. We know this trick and are prepared for it. The people in enemy states will demand accountability. Their governments cannot provide it without admitting a deadly danger. They have no choice but to downplay the facts, cast doubt on our calculations, and divert the debate with some demagogic ploy. They are too entangled in the guilt of this war to admit failure in any area. They must maintain face until the last minute, or risk being driven out by their own deceived peoples.

As early as February 25 this year, the "Daily Mail" wrote that any Englishman who believed the American shipbuilding industry could compensate for British ship losses was grossly mistaken. This was at a stage of the U-boat war that did not yet pose a life-threatening character for the enemy powers. Meanwhile, conditions have fundamentally worsened for England and the USA. The sinking numbers have reached a level that poses an acute danger to enemy shipping, while the losses of the German U-boat weapon do not remotely correspond to the boastful declarations of the British and American admiralties. Serious newspapers and naval writers on the other side also admit this. For example, the "Daily Sketch" reported from New York on May 30 that in American circles, it is said that out of every three U-boats operating off the American coast, one is lost. However, this is just wishful thinking. The fact is that hundreds of allied ships have been sunk by torpedo hits since the USA entered the war. This is very clear and hardly needs further comment. Churchill's claim that the U-boat war is under control almost seems ghostly in contrast. An attempt is being made to downplay a danger that could be deadly for British-American warfare.

We are well aware of the fluctuating chances in the U-boat war under various conditions. It is a tough job our brave crews have to endure on the vast oceans. The homeland hears of their successes so often that it might be tempted to see them as automatic. Nothing could be further from the truth. The enemy also knows what is at stake on this battlefield, and will leave no stone unturned to reduce the steeply rising sinking numbers to a non-paralyzing level for them. Weather, seasonal conditions, and other factors are also significant in the U-boat war.

Considering the relatively small number of battle-hardened young men who bear the brunt of this war and the war-deciding values at stake for the enemy, one can begin to grasp the importance of this conflict. Rarely have so few people played such a decisive role in a nation's struggle as here. Every U-boat that sets off from our ports is a masterpiece of German shipbuilding, and its crew represents a true selection of German youth heroically fighting for our freedom. The U-boat war has its own laws. This world-famous German weapon has succeeded in conducting the sea fight in forms worthy of highest admiration and earning the greatest respect even from the enemy.

We owe it mainly to our U-boats that Germany is not a blockaded country in this war, but has often driven the enemy into a defensive counter-blockade. The men of the U-boat weapon can be proud that they fill the enemy world with panic and that much of the confidence in victory in our own people rests on their brave efforts.

We know exactly what to make of the enemy's countermeasures, how seriously to take them, and how far not. One can only understand the enemy's warfare if one tries to grasp it within the general world situation. Churchill and Roosevelt live hand to mouth, so to speak. One must be careful to distinguish whether they are speaking to their own country, to the neutral world, or with an eye on us. They are hounded by a thousand dogs and hardly have the opportunity to present things as they actually are. In the tonnage war, too, they are bound hand and foot. They can no longer share the truth of the devastating facts with their peoples because they started the war under entirely different assumptions and are therefore forced to maintain face, deny defeats, and invent victories that do not exist. We are dealing with hardened sinners who will only admit defeat when they can no longer breathe. Therefore, it is not to be hoped that they will admit defeat tomorrow or the day after. They must be worked on until they are down.

The public opinion in England and the USA currently fluctuates between unrestrained optimism and deepest pessimism. Occasionally, the government-loyal newspapers ask where the extensive illusionism, filling the Anglo-Saxon peoples, comes from. They dare not openly admit that their own false and deceptive reports give the peoples a completely misleading picture of the situation. Then again, they protest against the illusionary recklessness with which the common man views war events, without telling him why such an attitude is entirely inappropriate. They move in a vicious circle, and an end to this witch's dance is not yet in sight.

In contrast, we have no choice but to intensify our warfare by fully exploiting our potential, not to be diverted from our path, and to take the enemy's grandstanding for what it truly is. Every warfare has its natural limits, drawn not by wishes but by facts. War itself has always been subject to many vicissitudes and coincidences, for which one must prepare as much as possible. The best approach is always to view the situation with sober realism, not being diverted from clear insights by adversities or favorable circumstances. We know exactly where we stand and where we want to go.

The enemy side knows neither. They will experience the most unpleasant surprises in the coming weeks and months.

Death travels across the seas, watching our enemies. Its harvest among their ships, men, and materials is horrifying. Churchill and Roosevelt cannot counter this with speeches and declarations, but only with facts. Creating such facts, however, they are currently incapable of doing.

Farewell

Speech at the State Memorial Service for the Deceased Corps Leader of the NSKK

June 21, 1942

At this moving moment, none of us can resist the feeling of mournful melancholy at the bier of our deceased party comrade and companion, Adolf Hühnlein. In recent weeks and months, we have often said farewell to old friends and comrades who have left our ranks to join the army of eternal German fighters. We cannot overlook the profound and shocking tragedy that lies in such painful dying and farewells, especially during these times. The immediate circle around the Führer, those who were the first and most steadfast, is beginning to thin out. One by one, personalities from the political leadership group of the Reich and the party, who most deserved to witness our great victory, are departing.

It seems as if death is also demanding its due tribute from the old comrades. Only those who are at home in this circle, who have marched side by side for two decades under the banner of our revolution, representing the Führer's most loyal guard, can truly understand the sadness that fills our hearts. These comrades started with the Führer from the very beginning, believed in him when he was a lone voice in the wilderness, followed him over all difficulties and obstacles as he led his party to inner-political victory, won the revolution with him, conquered the Reich, witnessed and helped shape its grand ascent, saw their faith confirmed in the world-shaking events of our time, bravely and unwaveringly took on the great trial of our people at the outbreak of the war forced upon us, and now, as we fight for our national life and everything dear to us, have only one wish—to be part of the great moment when what we once set out for as unknown men and fighters for the Reich will be fulfilled.

Only those who understand the deep tragedy of having to depart from a world where we turned the furrows, sowed our seeds, and expect the joyous harvest can grasp the true sadness of this farewell.

Rarely in the history of our people have there been communities whose life and actions were so deeply marked by the eternal struggle for the people and the Reich as ours. Who could begrudge them the fervent wish to see the final fulfillment of their faith? Almost every day, newspapers report that one from this old guard has given his life for the Reich in the far East, the deserts of North Africa, the world's oceans, or the skies above. These are the eternally restless ones, despising a comfortable existence, the old ones who never waver or tremble, the Führer's most loyal guard, standing by him in joy and sorrow.

Today, we gather once again around the bier of one from this first rank, torn from us by a cruel death, leaving a gap that can never be filled.

We remember with deep sorrow the moving moment when the Führer spoke on October 26, 1935, at the bier of our unforgettable party comrade Wilhelm Loeper. Rarely have we been so moved as by his words, saying that he now feels it is starting to get lonely around him. How often have we all thought of these words in recent weeks and months as we stood by the coffins of beloved and loyal comrades. How many have left us since then; we said "unforgettable" when we bade them farewell, and they have remained unforgettable to us.

Today, we must now add our comrade Adolf Hühnlein to this list of the departed. From now on, his powerful presence will no longer be among us when we gather. We no longer see his open, honest, loyal soldier's face among the groups; his clear eyes no longer greet us with the cheerfulness we all loved in him. The insidious illness, whose severity he himself was not aware of, has taken him, struck down in the prime of his vigorous manhood.

The Führer and the party mourn one of their oldest comrades, hundreds of thousands of German men of the NSKK mourn their beloved and esteemed corps leader, the old party guard a good friend and comrade, and the entire German people one of the most distinctive personalities of our National Socialist revolution and the political and state present it created.

Adolf Hühnlein, Corps Leader of the NSKK, Reich Leader, and Major General, was one of the Führer's oldest and most loyal companions. Born in Upper Franconia on September 12, 1881, in Neustädtlein, he spent his school years in Bayreuth, a city particularly dear to him, where he later

became an honorary citizen. He was a soldier by nature, temperament, and character throughout his life. His brigade commander wrote about him on August 6, 1916, stating that "this capable officer is highly recommended for special duties."

Fate did not deny him these special duties. As an officer in the 100,000-man army, he participated with selected assault troops from his company in protecting the first Führer's meetings, despite the disapproval of higher authorities and any consequences. He later became the first General Staff officer under General Ritter von Epp and was supposed to be politically sidelined by being transferred to Jüterbog. As a result, he resigned. On November 9, 1923, he was part of the Reichskriegsflagge unit. He was captured by betrayal alongside Police President Pöhner during the attempt to take the Munich police headquarters. He spent half a year in prison, first in Stadelheim, then with the Führer in Landsberg. After the party reopened in 1925, he became Quartermaster and later Chief of Motor Transport for the SA. His entry into the Supreme SA Leadership marked the birth of the Motor-SA, which occurred in 1930. In June 1933, he was appointed SA-Obergruppenführer. His tireless initiative significantly advanced the idea of motorization, leading the Führer to establish the NSKK as an independent organization on September 1, 1934. In this organization, Corps Leader Hühnlein created an instrument that could prove itself to the highest degree in its unique field. He played a crucial role in the reshaping of the entire motor transport system in the German Reich. He was the leader of German motorsport. The Motor-Hitler-Youth appointed him honorary leader. Finally, the Führer bestowed upon him the highest honor the party could give, appointing him Reich Leader at the 1938 Reich Party Congress.

On May 19, 1936, the Führer had already granted him the rank of Major General. He was a bearer of the Blood Order and the Golden Party Badge of the NSDAP and the Hitler Youth. During the World War, he earned the Iron Cross First and Second Class and the Bavarian Military Merit Order First Class. In this war, the Führer awarded him the War Merit Cross First and Second Class with Swords.

His entire military and political career was marked by his unwavering personality, the integrity of his character, the straightforwardness of his fighting spirit, and the steadfastness of his political beliefs. Always and foremost, he was a soldier of the Führer, whether in war or peace. Rarely did

a leading figure in public life distinguish himself through personal modesty and humility to the highest degree. The incorruptibility and uncompromising nature of his fighting spirit were exemplary for the hundreds of thousands of followers of the NSKK. Those who did not know him saw a rough and angular man in outward dealings. But his friends, especially us, knew that beneath this tough exterior lay a soft and kind heart. He despised superficiality more than anything. Like few others, he got to the bottom of things. More than merely fulfilling his duty was the true happiness of his life.

In fulfilling this highest duty, he was harsh and relentless with himself. It is accurate what a foreign journalist once wrote about him: "He has the carved wooden face of a peasant turned mercenary of the Thirty Years' War who swapped the plow for the sword."

The 500,000 men he gathered and organized in the NSKK stand with us, his old comrades, mourning before his bier. The NSKK was his creation; in it, he created a force field that attracted all motor enthusiasts and those willing to take on the additional duties of a political soldier alongside their professional work. It especially appealed to German youth. The spirit he instilled in this corps became evident at the outbreak of the war. Over two-thirds of all NSKK leaders and men rushed to the flags. Hühnlein became the Reich Marshal's representative for motorized transport in the war economy. The NSKK transport companies, formed and organized in peacetime for war, closely followed the fighting troops, ensuring smooth passage of individual units. The massive deployment of the NSKK in supply services for the army and air force on all fronts, particularly on the Eastern Front and in North Africa, is a deed of the highest military significance. Planning and executing it was the great military achievement of our party comrade Hühnlein.

It is not yet time to exhaustively discuss the NSKK's wartime achievements. They are the unique work of this fanatical fighter for the Führer. He thus etched his name indelibly into the book of this war.

He spent his 60th birthday at the front with his men to avoid celebrations at home. He then spent two days as a guest of the Führer at his headquarters, where the Führer could once again attest that the NSKK had been crucial to our war successes. That was his last great day. Soon after his 60th birthday, he developed a leg ailment. He went for a cure in Gastein. On December 8, he was operated on. The doctors determined there was no hope

left; they could only perform a superficial operation. He spent several weeks in Oberstdorf and Meran, where his condition occasionally improved. Three weeks ago, he returned to Munich, seemingly driven by a secret longing

for home. The creeping illness laid him on his final bed. Just two days ago, it seemed possible he might improve, but then death imperiously claimed its due.

At his bier, mourning with the Führer and his comrades, stand his wife, two married daughters, and two young grandsons. They bid him farewell with us in the Führer's great family. To them, he was a husband, father, and grandfather, the most loving and caring family head imaginable. To us, he was a friend, good comrade, and companion. With pain and pride, we say goodbye to him. His name is inseparable from the history of the National Socialist revolution. Devoted to the Führer, an eternal soldier of the German people, in whose service he consumed himself, he will live on in our memory forever.

The circle around the Führer has become even tighter. We close ranks even more firmly. In bidding farewell to our old comrade and friend Adolf Hühnlein, we almost feel the loss of a brother. He will now accompany countless young Germans as a noble example of a fighting life.

We are gathered around your bier, Adolf Hühnlein, to say goodbye. Farewell! Although today we lay your physical shell to rest in the bosom of the mother earth, your personality, the purity of your heart, the fighting spirit of your great life, what you were to us, you will always remain. As long as fate grants us life and health, it will be our duty to complete what you also fought and struggled for as a soldier of the Führer: the Greater German Reich in honor and freedom.

Who has the Initiative?

June 28, 1942

The British and American propaganda services are currently making frantic efforts to convince their own peoples and the neutral world that despite all defeats, the Axis powers have lost their previously feared offensive power for the summer of 1942, and that the initiative has slowly but surely shifted to the Allies since last winter. They cannot present any facts to support these claims. On the contrary, aside from their fabricated victories on land, sea, and air specifically for this purpose, they look back on an almost unbroken series of setbacks, defeats, and disgraceful capitulations. However, this does not seem to deter them in the least. They pursue the transparent goal of instilling a certain psychosis in the world through constant repetition of their theses, somewhat like the method of Coué, who believed he could ward off death by frequently repeating, "I am getting better and better!" and then eventually died.

The Americans are still quite inexperienced and naive in this procedure. They lack the extensive practice of the British and therefore make psychological blunders that can only provoke laughter; for example, when they, under public pressure, confess that the aircraft carrier "Lexington" was indeed lost, but then brazenly add that they sank it themselves for tactical reasons. If we were to release such a statement, no one would believe it; on the contrary, the enemy abroad and even our own people would respond with uproarious laughter. In Washington, however, they are surprised that outside the USA, the story of the "Lexington" and similar childish hoaxes are seen as clumsy attempts at deception and are accordingly reacted to.

To this day, the American public remains completely uninformed about the losses the USA has suffered in the naval war. Mr. Roosevelt simply hides behind military secrecy. The dizzying losses in tonnage of American transport shipping are only partially disclosed to the American people. According to the New York press, the US fleet in the Pacific War has sunk more Japanese warships than the Japanese ever possessed. So, it is not surprising that a frivolous optimism spreads in the United States about the general war situation, allowing the Washington Information Office to easily

promote the thesis of the Axis powers' dwindling offensive power without causing much opposition.

Is there any reason to believe such a view? Absolutely not! The Japanese have dealt both the British and the Americans blows in the Pacific in seven months of war from which they can never recover. It is sheer nonsense to expect a military power of Japan's caliber to break a new pillar of the Anglo-American power structure in East Asia every week, if such a structure still exists at all. Every major warfare operation involves not only conquering spaces but also truly occupying them. If the British had, for example, captured bases of the magnitude of Hong Kong or Singapore from the Japanese, they would likely live off the propaganda value of it until the end of the war. In the reverse case, they act as if nothing happened after three days and conclude from a temporary pause that the enemy has exhausted his offensive power.

They have tried to do the same with us since the beginning of the war. In the quiet periods between major offensives, they bolster their own morale. They arbitrarily set deadlines for us, and if we do not meet them precisely, they interpret it as a sign of weakness. They pretend to be eager to measure their strength against us. But when the blows rain down on them with unexpected force, they murmur some incoherent excuses and suddenly fall into the opposite extreme of deep, almost hopeless pessimism. We witnessed this again in the fighting in North Africa, especially after the capture of Tobruk. When the German-Italian offensive began, they were full of boastful arrogance and exaggerations. Mr. Churchill himself hurried to the House of Commons to bring the members what he called good news. But now that their troops have been shattered with powerful blows and 28,000 men have capitulated in Tobruk, they hang their heads and lament their misfortune.

How can one still talk in London about a lack of initiative on our part when the enemy powers are suffering the most sensitive defeats on all war fronts where they are involved, even before the actual summer offensive in the East has begun? Is it nothing that England and the USA lost almost a million tons of shipping space in May alone? Is it nothing that the United States saw their last valuable aircraft carriers sink in the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway? Is it nothing that the German-Italian forces in North Africa, against all London expectations and predictions, routed the British and their

auxiliary troops and stormed the supposedly impregnable fortress of Tobruk? What about the complete scattering of heavily guarded British convoys in the Mediterranean, and the desperate situation of the naval fortress of Malta? And finally, the Bolsheviks have already lost the Kerch Peninsula, half a million prisoners, and an immeasurable amount of material this spring, which they can no longer replace, not to mention their failed offensive intentions around Kharkov.

What do our enemies have to counter this? Certainly, Mr. Molotov spent fourteen days in London and a few days in Washington, signing an anti-aggression pact with Mr. Churchill and an arms agreement with Mr. Roosevelt. But for now, that is just paper, which is as patient in war as it is in peace. Certainly, Mr. Churchill fled to Washington from the disaster in North Africa, just as he visited the USA before the fall of Singapore. The fact that he and Mr. Roosevelt try to give the impression that they will establish the so-called second front in 1942 can only make those who know the situation laugh. British-American military circles know as well as we do that this second front is a fantasy and that the empty promise of their boastful politicians to Molotov is just a down payment to the Soviets. Former US Ambassador to Moscow Davies recently stated that the enemy side could lose the war in an afternoon if they attempted to establish a second front in Western Europe. While this may be an exaggeration, it clearly indicates the almost fatal danger of such an undertaking.

If there is talk of a lack of initiative during these weeks of general tense waiting, it only applies to the enemy side. They are fighting the war to this day exclusively with imaginary numbers. As unbelievable as they are in their deceptive height, they are equally ridiculous in their internal discrepancies. It seems that the British and American spokesmen invent these figures as they go. For example, on the same day, one can read that the USA plans to build either 20,000 or 100,000 fighter planes in a year, as if that were roughly the same and the difference insignificant. Similarly unreliable are the American figures on Anglo-American shipbuilding. One day or month, fifteen new freighters are launched. And they expect us to tremble in fear of these US numbers, which for now mostly exist only on paper, and give up our solid victories out of despair.

These absurd exaggerations are aimed exclusively at us. The enemy has an almost insulting view of the German people. British and American

newspapers openly debate which propaganda method would best deceive us. No one even bothers to conceal their intentions. They speak with a frankness that leaves nothing to be desired. Lord Vansittart advocates the idea that it will deeply impress us if the entire nation is threatened with terrible punishment in the event of an Anglo-American-Soviet victory; his critics argue that it is more effective to differentiate between the Nazis and the German people, as this would more easily lead to dividing and deceiving us as in 1918. They speak as openly about this as the ladies of Roman decadence used to undress in front of their male slaves, naively assuming they were not human.

The idea that we also think, that we monitor enemy opinion with keen eyes, and that we would not hesitate for a moment and likely possess the intelligence and persuasive power to explain to our people the background of any enemy propaganda, has not yet occurred to anyone on the other side. It is foolish for us to say this publicly, but the loquacity of democracy exceeds all bounds.

Is there no one in England and the USA who has even a rough idea of the current state of mind of the German people? Today, we are a nation fighting for its life. For this reason alone, none of us can even think of giving in, as everyone knows that the consequence would be hell on earth for all. If necessary, we would leave no stone unturned to achieve victory. No danger or threat could make us weak or wavering for even a minute. This has nothing to do with the difficulties of war, which each of us finds burdensome and oppressive, or with the pain of our people losing so much precious time and material and spiritual values in war that we would all prefer to use for the social, economic, and cultural development of our country.

But we also know that all this would remain an eternal illusion without victory. We can only achieve our national security, the freedom of our economy and nutrition, and the greatness and deepening of our culture through fighting. We thank fate for giving us a chance after so many errors in German history. It is childish if foolish and shortsighted propagandists in London and Washington believe they can dissuade us from this goal with naive phrases and bold attacks on our common sense. We would be able and willing to endure much more than we do today if we could not achieve victory otherwise.

It makes our blood boil when we hear the plutocrats of London and Washington talk about the world of social progress they supposedly want to build after the war, inviting the Moscow Bolsheviks as midwives. The earth has never seen a more blatant hypocrisy than this; but it too will break against the hard facts. In this worldwide struggle, the better quality of leadership and peoples, the strength of ideas, and the tougher morality will ultimately triumph. Triumph after triumph will continue to follow in the chain of their proud successes. Whether they stand at attention or launch their great offensive strikes, they always have the strength and will.

And that is why they also hold the initiative, today as they did yesterday and will tomorrow.

Create, Artist, Do Not Speak!

Speech at the Opening of the Great German Art Exhibition

July 4, 1942

A brief walk through the Great German Art Exhibition, opening today, provides the viewer with an impressive picture of contemporary painting and sculpting in the Reich. This show is all the more impressive as it can be displayed almost at the end of the third year of war, a time when the German people are undergoing their great test in the global struggle imposed upon them, with all national forces directed towards the sole goal of victory. Opinions may vary on whether artistic creation in wartime has a deeper existential justification, and this question is answered differently at different times. Our response has remained unchanged from the beginning, and there have hardly ever been opposing views among us. Germany is a cultural nation, one of the foremost in the world. Art for us is not something learned; it is a natural expression of our national character. We draw it from the original strength of our nation. Like anything innate, it cannot be set aside temporarily to be resumed later. It is our moral and spiritual support and strength in both trials and triumphs.

This is not mere rhetoric to fulfill official obligations. It is proven by a flourishing German cultural life during the war, despite or perhaps because of the war, which not only refutes pessimistic fears but far surpasses optimistic hopes and expectations. Certainly, we can observe a tendency in many areas of our cultural life for our people's taste to lean towards the lighter and more entertaining side of our artistic creation. This tendency seeks relaxation from the harsh and sometimes cruel burdens of war in theater, concert halls, and cinemas. On the other hand, this development is naturally balanced by another, which brings people back to the deeper sources of our cultural life, especially in these times of need and suffering.

The war has been a great transformer here as well. Despite the bloody tasks it imposed, it has not brutalized our people. On the contrary, it has given them a sensitivity towards intellectual, ideological, and artistic questions that can only be guided and mastered gently and carefully.

Thankfully, the damage wars have inflicted on the people's soul in earlier times has not appeared this time. In this gigantic struggle for our national life, we have discovered previously unknown aspects of our people. As a nation, we have become not worse but better through the war.

There may be differing opinions on the reasons for this unusual development. However, the fact is undeniable that we all view the war as an infinitely difficult yet moral and spiritual trial. The nation knows what is at stake today. The deepest foundations of our national life have been exposed by it. Just as a person often becomes aware of their greatest strength in their greatest need, so does a people. We have always been as strong as we are today; we just did not always know it. Not only through victories but also through trials has this awareness steadily grown within us. What we once took for granted, we have now learned to appreciate again, not only in our material but also in our ideal life.

We see this war imposed on us as an attack on our political, economic, and social freedom, certainly; but beyond that, we have become clear over the past year that our entire intellectual, ideological, and cultural existence is threatened, questioning the legacy of an almost two-thousand-year development.

We would not be Germans, preserving much of our praised heritage of poets and thinkers despite all the realistic focus of our struggle on the immediate and achievable, if such a war had not made us more serious, deeper, and thorough. We discover aspects of our national character during its course, known only to real connoisseurs of our national essence. While in 1917, during the World War, large parts of our people began to resign, turning away from their inner values, today, at the end of the third war year, the opposite is true. We do not turn away from ourselves; we return to ourselves.

I am not talking about our enemies' foolish attempts to impose cultural and intellectual tutelage on us, which is as dishonest from them as it is unnecessary for us. Lectures on cultural preservation should generally be given only by those who possess culture themselves. Who has the bad taste to proclaim the freedom of the spirit as a war aim to us, of all people, from a country like the United States, which knows intellectual and artistic values only second-hand, cannot be taken seriously by us.

But we want more than just faithfully preserving what we inherited as our cultural heritage. Our time is creative in every sense. It will undoubtedly be counted among the richest epochs of German history in the future. This is characteristic of all great historical periods: they were creative not only in the military, political, or economic sense but overall. They mostly revealed the deep forces rooted in the national character, and the results of this process, comparable to a birth act, soon became visible in all areas of daily life.

The creative person creates more from the power of their imagination than from their intellect. The great battles of annihilation in which our enemies have been defeated on all fronts are just as much acts of this shaping imagination as the great achievements of our politics, economy, and social and intellectual life. In everything we create, our time is expressed. There may be areas where this process is not yet so visible; but this is mostly because the creative forces have not yet broken through, are suffering under old constraints, or are struggling against traditional prejudices and obstacles, consuming their energies in the process.

When the Führer made a profound cut in the field of painting and sculpture in 1937, it was essentially nothing more than removing these obstacles. The following years had to prove whether the visual artists of Germany still had the strength to find their way back or if they would fail at this dilemma. This proof has now been provided, especially in the field where the most concerns had to be held because the signs of decay were most pronounced: painting. Architecture had always required such solid skill, even during the system period, that one could not get by with mere phrases and genius gestures. The educated philistine might still have been willing to buy a painting where only the artist's commentary could tell whether it depicted a bowl of tomato salad or an alpine landscape; but expecting him to live in a square concrete monstrosity instead of a cozy house usually exceeded the client's mental adaptability.

We had sunk the deepest in painting; hence, the creative forces of our time had to prove themselves most clearly here. I have the impression that the Great German Art Exhibition of 1942, opening today, proves that the test has been successful. Our painters have relearned how to paint. It seems again self-evident that the visual artist does not have the unique right in

public life to present the excretions of a perverse imagination as products of a higher calling, without even their craftsmanship showing it as a genuine talent gone astray. It is a truism that art comes from ability; but because it is so old, it does not need to be untrue. Even the most creative genius only unfolds fully through the diligence with which it serves its work. While diligence alone cannot replace genius, genius cannot achieve its highest performance without diligence.

It is a widespread misconception, against which one cannot argue sharply enough, to conclude from the playful ease with which a genius performance presents itself that it came about with the same ease. That is part of its nature, that it no longer shows the diligence and craftsmanship applied to it. But the art history of all genres and all times offers numerous examples of the fact that genius, because it demands and expects the utmost from itself, stands in an eternal, bitter struggle with the material and often requires many hours of doubt and despair, a chain of sometimes cruel self-critical tests, countless painful sleepless nights with all the worries of despair and agonizing depressions to impose creative form on the stubborn material.

The decade before us took everything too lightly. It was dominated by that genius-like nonsense that, as Gottfried Keller once said, leaves the scaffolding at the unfinished cathedral. At that time, one might sometimes be overcome by the anxious doubt whether our national character could still summon the strength for great achievements in any field. This doubt has long been dispelled. Above all, the war has subjected us to its merciless compulsion, simply leaving us with the choice of either perishing or confronting fate with seemingly impossible achievements. It may be a reassuring feeling for the artistically sensitive person that German art has not escaped this compulsion on any front, even though it did not appear as demanding here as in the fields of military, political, and organizational leadership. One can walk through the Great German Art Exhibition opening today and see this fact confirmed at every step.

In place of wild and unrestrained outbursts of a sick imagination, we again find ability, occasionally even highlighted and beautified by the grand spectacle of creative work that justifies the happiest hopes for the future. If critical observers believed that the cleansing in 1937 also stifled the valuable beginnings of a newly forming modernity, this exhibition proves the opposite. The cut only removed the sick elements, thus giving life back to the healthy.

I speak from the heart of all present when I express our deep regret that the Führer himself cannot be with us today. The most important tasks of immediate warfare keep him away. We know, however, how much he values the work displayed here and how he follows the development I have outlined with full participation, which owes its origin to him more than anyone else. In him, the artist of our time sees the ideal realization of his essence, a creative clash of genius and diligence from which all his historical achievements spring. What we constantly strive to achieve in our modest circles has become a system with him on a global scale. His way of working is that of the true artist, regardless of the field in which he operates. At the beginning stands the inspiration that springs from genius. But it only manifests in improvisation in emergencies and under duress; otherwise, it secures its success

through work and dogged diligence, through countless preparations that do not shy away from the seemingly insignificant and trivial. Where genius pairs with thoroughness, success cannot fail in the long run. This is a law that applies to all areas of artistic creation. Those who follow it are always superior.

Every time I stood here during the war to give the foreword to the Great German Art Exhibition, I felt the embarrassing sense of offering only a most imperfect substitute. If any work in German art life exclusively bears the stamp of the Führer, it is this one. Nothing do I wish more today than the hour when I can once again sit at his feet in a more beautiful peace, as he consecrates this greatest festival of German visual arts with his words. Until then, we still have a long and dangerous path to tread. Nothing will be given to us in this war. We do not want to quarrel with fate over it. It only forces us to fight under suffering and sacrifices for what will later become our dearest possession: the fields and forests, the villages, cities, and provinces of our homeland that our soldiers defend, the German life entrusted to their heroism today, the German art and culture experiencing an unprecedented maturation under the protection of their arms. How they will once blossom in a time of secured peace, for which we all fight and work.

When we greet the Führer at this moment, we feel the deep happiness of being his contemporaries. We, too, are called by him. Today, German visual art presents itself to the scrutinizing gaze of the public. It has

given its best. In this exhibition, it accounts for a year of wartime work. It need not be ashamed of it. The loud discussions of the past have fallen silent. Painting and sculpting have resumed in Germany. Instead of the pen, brush and hammer have taken the word. Goethe's admonition: "Create, artist, do not speak!" has regained its rightful place.

It is a joy to be able to affirm this in a time that will once be recorded as the greatest in our people's history.

With this feeling, I declare the Great German Art Exhibition of 1942 open.

Entry into Europe Blocked

July 5, 1942

No one, not even the most staunch Englishman, would claim that the British Empire is being well-led in this war. By this, we do not mean that the enemy has experienced the most disgraceful defeats and capitulations, that one misfortune followed another, and that Great Britain eventually stumbled into the worst crisis in its history. Nations can generally endure a lot, and it usually takes a considerable amount of time for misfortunes and adverse circumstances to have more sensitive consequences for their continued existence.

But England's leadership has not only failed in this war; what's worse is that they have not wanted to recognize and admit their mistakes and omissions and, accordingly, have not drawn any consequences from them. Of course, clever propaganda can temporarily turn a defeat into a victory and stamp a retreat as a real war success. But applying such a procedure in the long run must exact a bitter revenge, and the disillusionment that follows will be all the more cruel.

A nation educated to believe it can lose all battles yet still ultimately achieve final victory is like a football team that loses all preliminary matches in the naive belief that it can win the cup in the final. As everyone knows, they will not even be allowed to compete in the final round, which is based on the results achieved beforehand. One would think that the English, in particular, would have the greatest understanding of such reasoning.

But this is not the case at all. Churchill's propaganda has so clouded the British people that they seem no longer capable of normal political thinking. Their instincts have largely dulled. They think only in old, traditional forms, making them the best possible subject for the way Mr. Churchill runs his leadership.

We would prefer the opposite. Intelligent leadership on the enemy side is more pleasant because one can predict with some probability what they will do in this or that situation. This is completely impossible with

Churchill and Roosevelt. They are capable of any inconsistency and madness and will be all the more willing to commit the greatest folly as their situation becomes more difficult if it promises even a semblance of success.

Thus, no one can predict today if, when, where, or how they intend to establish a so-called second front. If they were somewhat sensible, they would have to realize that there is no madness that could bring them a greater debacle than this. They surely would not assume that we would leave the parts of the European continent in question unprotected because we relied on them not making such an attempt. The Führer's warfare has always taken even the most remote possibilities into account in the measures taken and to be taken. When the Polish seasonal state collapsed under the blows of the German Wehrmacht in September 1939 in 18 days, no one in Germany believed that the French and British would commit the madness of attacking the West Wall; nevertheless, our western flank was not left uncovered. And whether we operated in the later campaigns in the North or the West, in the Southeast or the East, we shielded ourselves so securely on all sides that there was never an acute danger anywhere. This is, of course, also the case in the West today, to such an extent that one almost wishes the English would make an attempt to get acquainted with it.

It is therefore more than naive for London to believe that they can make German warfare nervous with talk of the second front. We know that the more difficult the English situation becomes, the more likely they are to think of falling upon our flank with a desperate act, even without the British newspapers talking about it. Our measures against such an attempt are therefore not altered in the slightest by English propaganda for the second front. Thus, no more and no fewer German soldiers are stationed in the West. The English have been told often enough that entry into Europe is barred for them. Whether they believe it or not, whether they want to try it again or not, is of secondary importance to this fact. They would experience a debacle in an attempt to land anywhere in Europe that would make their Dunkirk disaster pale in comparison. This time, unlike then, we have the better cards in hand. The English are not present but have to come first. They have no auxiliary troops available on the European continent to send ahead or leave behind to cover their retreat. They are entirely dependent on their own military leadership and the bravery of their troops, and judging by their previous samples on other war fronts, not much can be expected of them alone.

If they are dreaming of uprisings in the occupied territories that could revolutionize our hinterland, this hope is too naive to be worth serious refutation. Such an attempt would probably last only a few hours; for it is one thing to occasionally blow up a railway line or fall upon a fighting troop from behind. We assume that this is perfectly clear in Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France.

But apart from what England could hope to gain from establishing a so-called second front, which would actually be the fifth or sixth, what could it promise? Are the experiences on other war fronts enticing for new adventures? Has, for example, North Africa, where conditions for Great Britain were far more favorable than on any conceivable war front in Europe, achieved such great successes that they tempt repetition?

Any invasion requires shipping space, to an extent that is no longer available to British-American warfare. Both England and the USA are losing so much tonnage in these weeks and months that they cannot replace it. An invasion can only lead to even modest success if attempted as a surprise. Apart from the fact that the English are too foolish to surprise us anywhere or anytime, they have also made us explicitly aware of their intentions. They have even occasionally sent advance commands to make sure we do not forget to watch out in the West. Whether they actually come or not is entirely irrelevant to our measures. Even if we knew exactly and from the most reliable reports that they do not intend to come, our preparations in the West would be such that they would not surprise us even if they did come.

We can imagine that Mr. Churchill is in a tight spot regarding the so-called second front. So far, he has waged the war he instigated with auxiliary troops. First, it was the Poles, then the Norwegians, then the Dutch, Belgians, and French, then the Serbs and Greeks, and now the Soviets, not to mention their colonial populations pressed into military service. Now there is not much left. The Americans do not seem keen on risking their skin for purely British interests. But there are still many intact divisions in the British homeland that have so far only engaged in war games. Occasionally, one hears that they storm a village or town, cross a river with great bravado, or fend off a looming paratrooper threat with minimal losses. But that is all just play. These brave English homeland defenders have not yet advanced to the seriousness of war. It is fair to assume that such units do not become more

war-worthy through inactivity and waiting than they naturally are. They probably provoke criticism not only from the English public, which clamors for action but also from the British allies, like the Soviets, who are in the midst of the bloodiest battles and can rightfully expect the English to at least assist them with their trained and equipped troops.

One does not need much imagination to understand the pressure Mr. Churchill is constantly under from within and without on this issue. The London desk strategists, who bear no responsibility and take pleasure in buying popularity among the people with radical demands, pass the ball to the allies, who, in turn, will leave no stone unturned to push Mr. Churchill into action. But he knows as well as we do that any movement from a standstill could lead to an immediate collapse. In short, England is trapped in its own snare.

One cannot win a war through defeats. Time works only for those who know how to use and harness it. Auxiliary troops may temporarily act as shock absorbers in warfare, but they will never be able to stop the impact of a crushing blow. A strategy exhausted in defense will gradually paralyze a nation's initiative and activity, and whoever misses the moment in the course of a historical struggle may miss everything. This war lasts so long only because England, based on its power, reputation, and wealth, has some resources to expend. If that were not the case, they would have collapsed long ago.

We have to achieve more than they do because we are beginning while they are ending. It is harder to acquire wealth than to squander it. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that England is on a declining path. It is just not yet aware of the speed with which it is racing towards its downfall. Occasionally, a startling event briefly illuminates the situation, and the British public realizes the seriousness of England's position, as in North Africa. Public opinion then vents its frustration for a few days, but soon falls back into the old state of lethargy. If there were still the mountain-moving power of an imperial faith behind it, one could see this as an expression of inner greatness. In reality, it is just the complete indifference of a nation to its historical fate, degraded to complete dullness under the anesthesia of sophisticated propaganda, which will suddenly awaken in a crushing catastrophe.

We do not know if Mr. Churchill seeks to find a way out of this dilemma through an adventure. We do not need to worry about it either, as we are fully secured and prepared for this and any other eventuality. Our warfare occasionally makes use of improvisation but is not based on it. Since the beginning of this historical struggle, we have been tirelessly working to shield ourselves against any conceivable enemy possibility. We have often surprised our opponents but have never been surprised by them. This will not be the case in this matter either. It would be good if Mr. Churchill studied the character of German warfare as thoroughly as we have studied his. We know him very well. We trust him to commit any madness, but we also know that even a desperate act on his part would find a response from us that would rob the English people of their last illusions.

Churchill's second front no longer interests us. We only still wonder whether we should rather wish he attempted it or not. Whether his propaganda is just talk or serious appears more irrelevant to us today than ever. What matters is that wherever it might be relevant, German soldiers are stationed, eager to give Churchill's soldiers a warm welcome.

The Law of the New World

July 12, 1942

Over the past three weeks, the German press has provided our people with an exceptionally vivid picture of the current political situation in England by relaying British voices from newspapers and radio. These voices, generally in a stark contrast to earlier tones, were mostly in a minor key, and for the first time since the beginning of this war, one could notice that the English homeland is becoming aware of the seriousness of the situation in which the British Empire currently finds itself. On the other hand, these press comments and military developments, both in the East and especially in North Africa, also had their humorous side for non-English readers. It is easy to imagine that the warmongers and instigators in London are not feeling very comfortable at the moment. Even though the English people are still demonstratively displaying their world-famous indifference and their innate phlegm allows them to face even the heaviest blows with a certain nonchalance, the impression has gradually taken hold throughout the British Empire that the war, which was so recklessly started, is now becoming a bloody serious matter for England as well. Gone are the days when they still found the war delightful and dreamed of a comfortable and safe stroll to Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo.

Even if we have only brought a fraction of the outbursts of fear and despair that have appeared in English newspapers and radio broadcasts over the past weeks to the attention of the German public—believing it prudent to prevent an over-optimism among us similar to the English over-pessimism—this selection was enough to prompt many German readers to wonder how such news and propaganda policies could still align with the common sense of a nation. Admittedly, we have sometimes been mistaken. We have occasionally overestimated our chances and underestimated those of the enemy. We misjudged their resilience and thus needed more time for certain goals than initially planned. But these were always exceptions that confirmed the rule of almost always accurate analysis of military and political constellations and an almost improbable certainty in assessing the general world situation. Looking back over the course of the war so far, one must

fairly conclude that German news policy has been characterized by a seriousness and credibility that can hardly be surpassed.

No one expects military and political wartime leadership to inform the public of ongoing actions in a stage where they are still unknown to the enemy. It is also forgivable to withhold news until it is absolutely confirmed. Counting such instances throughout the war, we find that the withheld positive reports outweigh the negative ones by about 95 to 5. This is the classic proof that they were only withheld for a few days or weeks to avoid giving valuable hints to the enemy. No other intention was ever associated with it. Why would we hide a fact from our people that would only reaffirm the seriousness of the war, which they already know is a very serious matter? We consider our people strong and morally solid enough to handle any, even the bitterest, truth without being harmed by it.

What do the English and Americans, not to mention the Soviets, have to counter this? We won't even speak of news that, if embarrassing and depressing, is fundamentally kept secret in London, Washington, and Moscow until it can no longer be denied. For instance, the English public still has no clarity about the serious stage the naval and tonnage war has reached. Mr. Churchill simply refuses to publish figures on it, and Mr. Roosevelt only announces the number of sunk ships, declaring names and tonnage to be military secrets.

And then there are the predictions! Admittedly, we have made a single wrong forecast throughout the war, concerning the remaining resistance capabilities of the Soviets in late autumn of last year. Even this prediction was correct at the time it was made but was overturned by an abnormally early winter. We did not hesitate to frankly present our people with the critical consequences of this shift during the winter campaign. Otherwise, we have wisely refrained from making future predictions and have contented ourselves with describing and explaining completed developments. We left it to the public to speculate on the timing and course of an offensive, and most of the time, the actual events pleasantly exceeded these estimates.

Has any German newspaper ever set goals and timelines for the North African campaign? Not that this campaign lacked goals and timelines, but we thought it wiser to announce them once achieved rather than predict

them and possibly not reach them. British news policy cannot be compared to German news policy in this regard. If we acted like the English, we would probably drive our people into a rage, and rightfully so. We consider it a strength rather than a weakness that we Germans would not tolerate such a procedure. It would fail due to our level of political education. A man like Churchill would not be bearable in Germany. He has never made a correct military or political forecast. From Poland through Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Serbia, Greece, Crete, the Soviet Union, East Asia, North Africa, to the naval war, his predictions have always missed the mark. Although we supposedly live under a dictatorship in Germany according to English opinion, this alleged dictatorship still has enough self-control to disgracefully oust a failure of his caliber from office within 24 hours.

In England, it is the opposite. The more defeats Churchill suffers, the stronger his position becomes. He is the ultimate failure for the British Empire. Admittedly, one can have bad luck in war. It is embarrassing but forgivable. But defeats and retreats become unbearable when surrounded by pathetic boasts. A boxer is most unsympathetic when he gathers reporters before the fight and explains in great detail how he will finish off his opponent, only to stumble into his corner with trembling knees and a bloody nose after the first round. If he is knocked out in the fifth or sixth round and carried out of the ring as if dead, he is well-advised to remain silent for a while rather than try to excuse a disgraceful defeat with lame excuses and vague threats. One must not only win but also lose with dignity. The English pride themselves on mastering this virtue. Either this is not true, or Mr. Churchill is not an Englishman.

He had hardly returned from the USA when the belittling of British defeats in London resumed. His Jews suddenly spoke of an offensive-defensive in North Africa that English troops had now begun to finally destroy Rommel. The situation was serious but fluid; the winner of this campaign would be the loser, and other such nonsensical drivel. They apparently had no sense of the embarrassing and repulsive impression this created in world opinion, as listeners continually wavered between laughing and turning away in disgust. In the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill was rewarded with a vote of confidence of 475 to 25 for his defeats. History will later have to characterize the creeping collapse of the British Empire as a process of character decay. We would have wished the English a better exit.

There may still be some among us who mistake British stupidity for war morale. It has nothing to do with it. One can certainly endure blows with equanimity in such a gigantic struggle without batting an eye; but one should at least have the courage to remain silent and not make oneself ridiculous by boasting. We, too, sometimes fared very poorly last winter. We accepted the adverse fate, which seemed to conspire against us with all the forces of nature, with stoic calm, did not talk much about it, but fought against it all the more. We understood those hard months as a time of maturation and trial, never doubting ultimate victory, but realizing that we must deploy all our national strength to overcome this inferno of dark forces that had risen against us.

We would have lost respect for ourselves if our newspapers had had nothing better to do during this time than embellish this titanic struggle with cute anecdotes; moreover, our soldiers would not have tolerated it. Soldiers have a right to have their bloody efforts, often under the most adverse and sometimes hopeless conditions, represented to the public in a way that honors their heroic stand for national security. Generals can be dismissed if they neglect their duties or are not up to their tasks; but sending them off as scapegoats to protect politicians, as Mr. Churchill did after every defeat, is a sin against the spirit of the troops, which will one day exact a bitter revenge.

We still have to assume in favor of England that the British people are better than their current leadership and do not deserve a charlatan like Churchill. But this does not change the fact that he represents British policy and confronts us as the speaker and representative of enemy warfare. We would have preferred a more solid opponent. He has no stature. One only needs to observe him for a short time to fully understand him. This caricature of an Englishman had to confront us in this war! That he even has the right to oppose the Führer on behalf of part of the world is as shameful for us as it is humiliating for the English. His tactical intelligence and diabolical eloquence are Britain's misfortune. He will gamble away the Empire to the last ounce.

It may be easy to lead the English people. They are not particularly politically insightful; one only needs to appeal to their national instinct, and victory is assured. The German people are much more difficult to handle. They are intelligent and vigilant, do not allow themselves to be deceived, and have an exceptionally good and long memory that sometimes falls on one's nerves over trivial matters. If we once said something incorrect out of error, it

would be held against us for years. We do not regret this. There can be no more effective national self-control. Leading this people requires courage, vigilance, utmost caution paired with utmost intelligence. There is no nobler task than this because it fully engages the finest virtues in a man. What more could we wish for!

We all have nothing but contempt for Churchill and his deceptive system. He would not be taken seriously in Germany. The Germans would see through him in no time and expose his cunning tricks to general ridicule. It may be that this will also happen in England someday, but probably too late to save anything. History is also relentlessly consistent in this case. It sometimes takes crooked paths, but they always lead to the goal. In such developments, there are men who embody the future, and opposite them usually stand men who represent the dead past. These act like bacteria, triggering, accelerating, and ultimately completing a decay process that is due.

Behind this, however, rises the eternal force that, while the old crumbles and falls, already carries within it the law of the new world.

The So-Called Russian Soul

July 19, 1942

The harsh and bitter battle for Sevastopol, as well as the new large-scale offensive operations of the German Wehrmacht against the Soviet armies, have reignited a debate in neutral countries that had already been touched upon last winter: the mystery of the so-called Russian soul. The territorial, as well as the spiritual boundary between Europe and Asia, has always been a strong point of interest for Western European minds, and it cannot be denied that the conglomeration of peoples known until 1917 as Russia and since then as the Soviet Union has presented many puzzles to our continent. This had nothing directly to do with Tsarism back then, nor does it have anything to do with Bolshevism today. It simply lies in the fact that the peoples compressed within this state monstrosity cannot be considered a nation in our sense at all.

The many facets of the so-called Russian national soul, which sometimes appear so dazzling and contradictory to us, are in reality only reflections of entirely different ethnicities that have come together here. It would be entirely wrong to classify them according to the template we apply to Western European peoples. What we call Russia has always appeared only as a collective mass. Generally, historical influence has always been exerted by a small group, whether it was the Tsarist upper class back then or the Bolshevik-Jewish leadership clique today. The broad masses of peasants and workers have always been used by them without being involved in historical events in the slightest.

The ethnic groups of the Soviet Union live on a level of stupefying primitiveness that we can hardly imagine. Recently, an exhibition called "The Soviet Paradise" was shown in Berlin and other major cities of the Reich, attempting to illustrate life in the Soviet Union primarily through original depictions. It seemed directly unbelievable to the average, untrained observer, and one often saw lively debating groups of civilians who had to be informed by a few wounded from the Eastern Front that it was actually worse in the so-called paradise of workers and peasants than depicted here. It is also telling that the campaign against the Soviet Union has in no way rekindled any

nostalgic memories of communism among us. The Soviet Union has failed to provide German soldiers with any proof of the congruence between theory and practice in Bolshevism. None of them will return from the East as communists. The mysterious image has been unveiled. Bolshevism no longer poses a spiritual threat to us.

Nevertheless, it must be astonishing that the Soviet army often offers our troops resistance that they were not accustomed to encountering in their previous campaigns. They sometimes fight with a dull, almost animalistic tenacity and occasionally display a disregard for death that is more than noteworthy. Participants in the battles for Sevastopol, in particular, recount images of the resilience of the Soviet garrison that need a closer explanation if they are not to confuse a broader audience.

It should be noted that throughout their history, the Russians have always distinguished themselves by a particularly tenacious and stubborn style of defense, while they have never been much good in attack. Their entire national character is very conducive to defensive warfare. They are dull and exhibit a wild animality. Accustomed to a hard and deprived life, they are not too attached to it for that very reason. The individual scarcely matters in public thought, as much as a bicycle might. National bloodletting can easily be compensated by huge birth surpluses. There is a type of primitive tenacity that would be given too much honor if called bravery. It is something entirely different. Bravery is a kind of spiritual courage. The tenacity with which the Bolsheviks defended their bunkers before Sevastopol was more an animalistic drive, and nothing would be more wrong than to assume it was a result of Bolshevik ideology or upbringing. Fundamentally, Russians have always been like this and presumably always will be. It is easier to throw away a life that holds no more desires than one that still beckons like a distant paradise in the last danger.

No word should be said against the immense danger that the armed uprising of such dull masses poses for Germany and all of Europe. For the attacking soldier, it does not matter why the enemy defends their skin almost to the last breath. What methods the Bolshevik commissar uses to whip the troops under his intellectual leadership into ultimate resistance does not play a decisive role in the course of the battle. Nevertheless, it is important to know this so that no false impressions are formed out of ignorance. The Bolshevik system is based on the most cunning exploitation of the Slavic

national soul. This gruesome experiment was only possible in Russia. It required the primitiveness, animalistic dullness, and social and economic modesty of the peoples united in the Soviet Union as prerequisites to come into play at all. It was then carried out with a consistency that seems downright eerie to the expert.

In our earlier depictions, we did not exaggerate the consequences of Bolshevism but underestimated them. They have been far overshadowed by the facts. We do not even need to speak of the so-called social achievements of the Soviet system, which can only evoke smiles or disgust compared to our social and living standards. But it is a matter of taste to admire the fact that Bolshevik propaganda has managed to a large extent to persuade the masses of Russian workers and peasants, through hermetic isolation from the outside world and the stupid repetition of their world-salvation phrases, that this state is indeed paradise on earth. Independent insights require comparisons. Here, they are completely cut off. The worker and the peasant in the Soviet Union are like someone locked in a dark cellar for 25 years, who can easily be made to believe that a burning kerosene lamp is the sun.

In such a system, the political commissar has a function that is completely unimaginable to our concepts. He acts as a mere taskmaster, both among the people and in the army. He has powers over life and death and is himself accountable with his head for fulfilling his assignment. He has at his disposal a dull mass trained to either passively endure everything or choose between prison in milder cases or death with bestial tortures in severe cases. A national intelligence capable of opposing this system no longer exists. The system itself possesses all the means of power to smother its development even in the most modest beginnings. The whole country is pervaded by a spy system that misuses children to spy on their own parents. What remains for the dull and will-less masses but to obey and submit to their fate with the fatalism that finds a welcome breeding ground in their racial soul? How could a bunker garrison not hold out to the last shot when the commissar forces them at gunpoint and a systematic Jewish propaganda has convinced them that captivity means not only death but also the most cruel tortures?

We cannot see how this has anything to do with what we understand as bravery. After all, this system, when put to the ultimate test, must always yield to the superior spirit of manly courage. For example, the Bolsheviks were in a far more favorable position in defending Sevastopol than our troops

were in attacking, and yet they capitulated after 25 days. In the end, their system lacked the individual fighting spirit that springs only from free personal determination, overcoming difficulties and dangers not through terror and threats of violence but through the bravery of each individual man. There is no doubt that international Jewry poses our most dangerous enemy in the organized dull and will-less human material of the East.

Once defeated, there will be no threat left that we need fear for even a moment. But we would have to despair of the quality of our race, the excellence of our soldiery, and the power of our worldview and principles if we even for a moment believed that we could not overcome this danger.

It has always been the fate of the Germanic race embodied in Germanism to endure the great trial against the onslaught of the East at the crossroads of its historical development. This is especially dangerous today because it has allied with the ruthlessly infernal Jewish intellectuality pursuing its goals. It was undoubtedly an almost fatal threat not only to the Reich but to all Western culture when Jewry made the manual abilities of the masses of the East serviceable to forge the weapons for the massive assault of the Soviet armies against Germany and thus against Europe. This is a fight to the death. The red commissar defends his world to keep it intact for the attack against ours. We must destroy his system if we are to live without danger in the future.

These problematics explode the framework of an approach that the educational philistine tends to apply to the so-called Russian soul. Old measures are no longer sufficient to assess these gigantic spiritual and ideological dimensions. The colossal struggle currently being fought on the battlefields of the East shakes a conceptual world that must fall if there is to be any national future for us. The animalistic savagery with which the other side fights this war is just one more proof of the great danger we are in. Here, it truly is about everything. One cannot imagine the consequences of trying to impose the system practiced over there on our country. It would initiate the complete domination of Europe by international Jewry. Our people would be subjected to the dull bestiality of a primitive race and would succumb in its most valuable parts. Such a fact would only be welcomed in London. They would have rid themselves of an opponent they cannot eliminate by their own strength, as the development of this war proves.

Therefore, one must understand that we Germans can have little sympathy for intellectual considerations about the so-called Russian national soul, which is thoroughly examined in its most hidden folds to reveal its supposed secrets. There are no mysteries here, only facts to be stated. We are engaged in a fight against a world power that threatens our national life down to its most primitive foundations. For us, the war is a harsh reality, not a philosophy. It stands before us in its cruel primitiveness, and it is fought by our soldiers as a fateful struggle for our most sacred goods. It is not our way to underestimate the enemy. But we remain convinced that here too the superior race will triumph over the inferior one, regardless of the infernal means it employs to escape its deserved fate.

We are well aware that Europe would be lost if the Axis powers did not protect it. Through us, our continent has received a new youthfulness. The onslaught of the East against its life and culture will therefore fail because we counter its dull force with the decisiveness of an offensive resistance that draws its strength from the intelligence of leadership and the disciplined vitality of the young races of Europe.

As so often in our history, this time too the nomadism sweeping in from the East will be driven back into its steppes. That is the goal of our campaign against the Soviet Union.

Conversations with Frontline Soldiers

July 26, 1942

It is known that the feeling of fear towards danger does not increase with proximity to danger but decreases. This can be described as a wisdom of nature, as it keeps the human mind sharp and alert for all possibilities of overcoming a crisis. However, the further one is from the seriousness of a situation, the more one is inclined to overestimate its difficulties and consider them insurmountable. The instinct for self-preservation will react most vigorously when most urgently needed, but it will also dull when no longer necessary. How else can one explain that, in every war, the front sets an example not only in commitment but also in confidence and a sense of its own strength? The best mood always prevails at the front, and the further back one goes, the more human nature tends to let its natural resistance to moral and physical dangers slowly fade.

We do not criticize this fact; we merely state it. It is natural and probably unchangeable. Every living being will only use the strength necessary for its survival. If the front were to start doing otherwise, it would lose itself. This realization has come to us again in recent days when we had the opportunity to spend time with frontline soldiers from the East and North Africa, as well as soldiers from the Luftwaffe and Navy, and receive detailed reports on the situation at all fronts. A characteristic of their accounts was that our repeated question about the morale at the front was often met with astonishment, as if there could be no doubt about it. While soldiers may occasionally complain, it has nothing to do with their moral stance. If victory is seen as a national political necessity that cannot be questioned, regardless of how many sacrifices it may require of us, then this is especially true at the front. The front knows the enemy. It knows the enemy's intentions and the fate that would befall our country and people if we fell into his power. The front views the war without illusions, harshly, soberly, and realistically. For them, it is not a normal state but an exceptional one. It represents the great test of our nation in relation to its historical destiny. In its limited duration lies its chance for unlimited national fortune or misfortune. What is neglected

in war can never be made up for in peace. The soldier knows this, and thus he pursues his bloody craft with deep moral seriousness. This war has been imposed on us by our opponents. They alone bear the responsibility before humanity and history. The suffering it inflicts on peoples is kept away from his own people by the frontline soldier. He truly fights for home, family, and hearth. The nameless misery of people he encounters on his campaigns spares his own people through him. The peoples whose leaders started and are responsible for this war also bear its burdens.

For the frontline soldier, it does not make a decisive difference whether the enemy defends himself fiercely or not. It has never been the German way to underestimate the opponent, and this is not the case in this war either. The German soldier knows exactly what kind of hostile world he is facing. Despite their often numerical superiority, he feels superior to them both in combat and morally. He stands on the firm ground of a new revolutionary worldview, which continually gives him the strength to recognize the meaning, purpose, and goal of this gigantic struggle correctly and to make it the basis of his combat deployment. He truly conducts this war as a people's war. Especially in its most severe and hardest crises and trials, he becomes aware of this. Rarely in our history has such a gigantic struggle of men, nerves, and material proceeded so free of slogans as here.

Throughout the war, we have not once needed to make a fundamental change in the psychological leadership of this struggle. There is no significant difference in the understanding of the nature of the war between the front and the homeland. Only the soldier is closer to it because he faces it in its most immediate form. Tens of thousands of soldiers who already fought in the trenches of the West during the World War are fighting on the fronts in the East and North Africa today. They are most aware of the difference compared to then. While not even the leadership of the Reich during the World War was clear about what it actually wanted and what the nation was fighting for, every soldier knows this today. He also brings the great war goals into direct connection with the secret wishes and hopes he personally pursues with them. Just as he knows exactly that losing the war would lead not only to the collapse of our national life but also to the destruction of his own material and in countless cases also physical existence, he also knows that its victory would bring an expansion of our national base and an unprecedented security of the social and economic existence of every single German.

But that alone is not the driving force behind the German soldier's combat deployment. Today, he feels as the bearer of a gigantic ideological confrontation, which has expanded from the narrow confines of an internal political power struggle to a struggle between continents. The German soldier's feeling of superiority over his opponents stems not only from his better training or the higher quality of his weapons; it has its real causes in the awareness of the stronger impact of the principles he defends and the more valuable race he represents. Certainly, this is not clear to every soldier individually, but he feels it. He acts superior from the subconscious because he feels superior. We have not spoken to anyone who was not firmly convinced that this most decisive armed struggle in our history will succeed.

It is understandable that such uncompromising thinking about the war, its causes, effects, and goals sometimes clashes with the often still peace-oriented life of the homeland. This is inherent in the nature of the matter. The fighter will always display a certain mistrust towards the non-fighter. We have deliberately only restricted the order of life in the homeland and adjusted it to the needs of the war where the war itself made it necessary. Even though the longer duration of the war has brought the life of the homeland closer to that of the front in some respects, it cannot be said that it is somehow equal to it. Apart from the American people, the Germans feel the least impact of the war. It is not the total warfare in the homeland that creates tensions but rather the deliberate lack of it.

It is quite characteristic that the hardest morale at home is found wherever the war demands the greatest sacrifices: in the air-threatened areas. We heard details about the heroic and admirable attitude of the population, for example, in Lübeck, Rostock, Cologne, Duisburg, Essen, Emden, Bremen, and Hamburg, which appear very close to the front. Here it could be seen that the sense of the national danger we must defend against grows with its proximity. There is no more fatal error in English warfare than to believe that German morale can be broken by air raids. The opposite is true.

Another fact deserves special mention. The German soldier of today is not only very different from how he is portrayed by the enemy side but also often different from how certain parts of the homeland see him. Stories and reports from soldiers on leave do not revolve exclusively around combat experiences. Our soldiers have observed the foreign countries they traversed

with open eyes, keenly observed their populations, and made comparisons with the homeland in all areas of public and private life. It would have been an intellectual catastrophe for the Reich in general and for National Socialist doctrine and state leadership in particular if these comparisons had turned out to our disadvantage. They did not. Once this war is over, there will be no more homeland-loving people in Germany than our frontline soldiers. While we Germans used to tend to seek paradise in distant and foreign countries and continents, we have discovered it at home during this war. That is why the frontline soldier places great importance on ensuring that, despite all the war efforts of the homeland, it remains as untouched and intact as possible. It should be a distant but nevertheless present reality for him, not an entirely unreal memory from the past.

We spoke with well-known German fighter pilots from the Eastern Front and North Africa. Some of them had just recently graduated from high school, externally almost still children, but internally already mature and experienced men. They reported without pose or rhetoric. Their judgment of the enemy was cool, factually acknowledging where it seemed appropriate, without a trace of arrogance, but always superior. They expressed opinions about the mentality of the Bolsheviks or the English that could embarrass a practiced folk psychologist. When they spoke of the camaraderie in their squadrons, they rarely used the word "camaraderie." Their demeanor was entirely unpretentious: nothing of timidity or faint-heartedness, naturally, but also nothing of patriotic brashness. They see this war as a people's struggle for life and death and consider themselves a part of its execution. A well-known U-boat commander returns from the Atlantic. For orientation on military matters during his enemy voyage, he had to listen to English and American broadcasters and made us suggestions about our news policy towards the USA that were simple but also clear and convincing.

We spent an evening with the commander and some leaders of the Leibstandarte. They experienced the past harsh winter at Taganrog under the most adverse conditions. After just half an hour, the conversation strayed from the description of combat experiences and drifted late into the night into reflections on the character and nature of Bolshevism in practice, supplemented and illustrated by numerous examples from daily life that can be found in no textbook or educational publication. Here again, we see the German soldier, trained in National Socialist doctrine, as the keenest observer of his surroundings, leaving no stone unturned in seeking

confirmation of his views on-site. These men lead a hard but just regime in the cities they control. From the improvisation of the moment emerges a leadership based on the best psychological foundations, towering above the bureaucracy of some administrative branches in the homeland. They do not wait for instructions from above for every minor issue but act independently as common sense dictates. Thirty-year-old captains develop leadership talents that would honor a government president in the homeland.

From all this, we derive the gratifying awareness that the German people are in a promising upward development despite or because of the war. Just as the revolution was the selection process of the party, the war is the selection process of the armed forces. Talents only emerge when needed. Today, they are at work everywhere, often breaking the framework of purely academic education and finding their way in their own manner. Just as one knew exactly where to find the real leading minds of the party after the revolution, one will know exactly where to find the real leading minds of the armed forces after the war. The struggle is always the surest and most infallible selection process. It demands hard sacrifices, but they are not in vain in this respect either.

The homeland must strive hard if it is to equal its soldiers in its own way. It must never consider the burdens it bears as its own but must always relate them to those of the front. Those who risk their lives tend to observe more keenly. We are all under the scrutinizing gaze of the front, which we must endure under the eyes of every wounded and furloughed soldier. We must measure up to this gaze because it reflects the great war in which the decision about our national fate lies.

Even the Attempt is Punishable

August 2, 1942

The extraordinarily severe military setbacks that the Soviets are currently suffering have caused a nervous, if not hysterical, mood in London and Washington. Great efforts are being made to acquaint the public, which had been greatly spoiled by the Soviet and British victory bulletins of the past winter and had thus formed a completely false picture of the situation in the East, with the growing seriousness of the situation. But that is easier said than done. With astonishment and a good deal of horror, the man on the street in England and the USA perceives that the German Wehrmacht, despite all enemy lies, is capable of deploying troops and material in its extensive offensive thrusts on a scale that the Anglo-Saxon countries had no idea about. Apparently, they had fallen for the Soviet-British numerical extravaganzas of the winter campaign, according to which over three million German soldiers had frozen to death in the East from December to March, and now they suddenly see divisions and armies rising from the dead that they had long written off in their calculations. The illusions of the past months dissolve into nothing. Once again, as in every summer, they face the harsh facts of the war.

It is easy to imagine the widespread disappointment in enemy public opinion as a result. While they were still boasting at the end of winter that they did not want to postpone victory to 1943 or even 1945 but to achieve it in 1942, they have now become very meek and content themselves with the modest statement that they would be happy just to escape with their lives. And as always, when crises and burdens grow and hopes and wishes are replaced by severe disappointments, the unity among the comrades on the other side leaves much to be desired. Where are the days when Comrade Molotov still stayed in England under the name of Mr. Smith and was passed from salon to salon and club to club as a Bolshevik wonder boy!

Back then, they were still intoxicated by the exhilarating notions of a second front, which the English and Americans were supposed to establish in Western Europe just at the moment when the German Wehrmacht was in its death throes in the East and its leadership was forced to withdraw the last

reserves from France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway to save what could still be saved in the East.

Things turned out quite differently: the Soviets held less, and the Germans held more than had been expected of them three months ago. There is no question of withdrawing German troops from the West. On the contrary, the best and most powerful units have been transferred there in the meantime. But Timoshenko has been forced to give up the most valuable territory for the survival of the Soviet Union and to attempt to save at least part of his forces from final catastrophe with a dramatic retreat order.

This has created a situation that neither London nor Washington, much less Moscow, had foreseen. The so-called second front, which had been envisioned as an almost risk-free venture with which, in vain self-deception, they declared they would deliver the coup de grace to Hitler, now stands like a dark question mark, full of the gravest, if not deadly, dangers before the English-American war leadership. And the desperate thing about the whole situation is that they had practically promised it as a certainty at a time when they saw hardly any risk associated with it.

Stalin insists on his claim like Shylock. Not that he is pushing for the fulfillment of the given promise through official pressure in an improper manner. In his view, it is apparently not that far yet, and moreover, he has other means at his disposal to make the British and American public aware of their duty. The English and American correspondents in Moscow send daily dramatic reports from the Eastern Front to London, Washington, and New York. Here, the seriousness of the situation is laid out with a frankness that leaves nothing to be desired. The radical papers in England and the USA eagerly pick up these depictions to prove to their uncritical readership that the time for action has come now or never. It is understandable that such slogans from the streets, which notoriously bear no responsibility, go down like oil. The streets also have a kind of right to the second front, since it was promised to them, albeit under more favorable prospects. Mr. Churchill cannot get rid of the spirits he called upon.

One can imagine that he faces a terrible dilemma from which there is hardly a way out without losses. If he does not establish the second front, then with the growing defeats of the Soviets, he faces a domestic political crisis that he will hardly be able to manage, with all the resulting catastrophic

consequences for the relationship between England and the United States with the Soviet Union. The "Times" reported from Moscow a few days ago that the Bolshevik workers were following the related developments in England and the USA with intense attention and were making their position towards the Anglo-Saxon countries, for the entire future, dependent on them. But if Mr. Churchill attempts the second front, then he faces – and he already has considerable experience in this field from the World War, which he does not like to be reminded of publicly – a fiasco, given the current situation, that could fundamentally, decisively change the overall situation.

"Monk, you are going a difficult path!" he will sometimes call out to himself upon calm reflection and curse his recklessness that led him to make a promise in an unguarded moment that he cannot or should not keep given the situation. We have already explained in detail here why we do not fear the attempt to form a second front, but rather, in a way, even wish for it. Nothing has changed in the arguments we presented here four weeks ago; on the contrary, they have only been reinforced by several facts. We still consider a British-American invasion of the European continent to be a mad undertaking that would be accompanied by the most disastrous consequences for England and the United States. But, of course, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt can undertake the attempt. We trust their temperament and character to do so, and precisely for this reason, it would be downright criminal if the German war leadership were not thoroughly prepared for it.

Risks that entail deadly dangers should only be taken in war when forced by a situation that offers no other way out. Such a situation does not exist for us in this case. The shielding of our western flank with sufficient forces for any eventuality has not hindered our offensive warfare in the East, as the facts prove. We do not need to withdraw troops from the West, nor do we need to relocate more there. Our troops stationed there are fully capable of welcoming the English, should they come, with dignity: indeed, they are eager and can hardly wait for the day when they can prove themselves anew on so many battlefields. However, it is conceivable that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt might find themselves in such a desperate situation that they are forced to take the most dangerous risk of this war, despite all experience speaking against its success.

Some English newspapers have already written that the invasion must be attempted, even if it is certain that it would result in a second, worse

Dunkirk. That's how far they have already gone. Who can blame us for finding such a development extremely promising and wanting to do nothing to prevent it?

The German and world public must therefore potentially reckon with being awakened one morning by a deafening propaganda noise from the English and Americans. We are also prepared for them to come not just with poor units. They will use all means of camouflage and deception in an invasion attempt. We are prepared for that too. They might even achieve some apparent successes to lay them at the feet of their Bolshevik ally as a morning gift. The world will be filled with the noise of weapons and propaganda lies for a while. But then our war machine will slowly but surely start moving, and one day we will see the English gentlemen marching on Berlin, though not as conquerors but as prisoners, and the rest will seek a new Dunkirk, shattered and defeated, to embark on the long journey across the Channel to Tipperary.

Nowhere does the difference between attempt and success appear so starkly and sometimes fatally as in war. We have never doubted that the enemy side might attempt the second front. We only deny with all good reasons that this wish has any prospect of success. It only has the chance to end in a terrible fiasco. Whether the enemy leadership wants to see that or not is entirely irrelevant. In war, not wishes or hopes decide, but only facts. It may be that England and the USA are morally forced by the growing plight of the Soviets to make this attempt. That would be a national misfortune for the British people, which they would owe exclusively to Mr. Churchill and his policies and war leadership.

These days, rumors were circulating in the English press that the British Prime Minister intended to bring Lord Beaverbrook back into the cabinet as a minister for the second front. The combative press lord is known for advocating radical warfare, and if Mr. Churchill were to appoint him to the government under this pretext, it would only be proof that he was looking for a scapegoat for the expected failure. This would be entirely in line with his previous methods and would fully correspond to his character. We would then have even more reason to look forward to the coming developments with calm confidence. Our soldiers chased the English into the sea in the spring of 1940 when they were sitting behind gigantic fortifications and still had French troops to cover their retreat. Today, they would face our soldiers

eye to eye in a renewed encounter. Everyone can easily calculate the consequences.

What the British-American war leadership will ultimately decide on this matter, we do not know. Perhaps they don't know that exactly themselves yet. In such cases, it is good to be prepared for all eventualities, even the most unlikely ones. That has been done. Whether England will seriously launch a large-scale invasion campaign or just make the attempt is

only of marginal interest to us. Even the attempt is punishable. It will be met with means that will rob the British people of their last illusions in this regard. Even in this last critical question of this war, there would then be clarity. That could only be right for us.

We therefore extend a warm welcome to the English. Hopefully, they will bring some Americans with them. The MacArthurs would then, for the first time, make acquaintance with German soldiers who, although they do not bring tennis rackets and golf balls, but first-class weapons and a rich treasure of combat experiences collected on all battlefields of Europe.

They would gladly take the opportunity to make it clear to the Yankees that entry into Europe is also forbidden to them.

From God's Own Country

August 9, 1942

With Americans, one can never be quite sure which of their traits is more pronounced and therefore more decisive for their national character: their naivety or their arrogance. For example, when they make judgments about issues concerning our continent and its living conditions, these judgments are always surprising in their ignorance, which is only surpassed by the brazen audacity with which they are presented. The less they understand about something, the more knowledgeable they speak about it. They seriously believe that the European peoples are just waiting to be looked after and led by them. Our tactful restraint in publicly judging American culture and pseudo-civilization before the war was taken by them as admiration. The pinnacle of their technical development is the refrigerator and the built-in radio cabinet. They cannot imagine that there are cultural values beyond these, which are the results of centuries of historical development of a people and which cannot be acquired by purchase. It was not a bizarre joke when they bought castle ruins in Germany after the World War, transported them stone by stone to the USA, and rebuilt them there exactly as they were. They believed that by doing so, they were acquiring a piece of national history, embodied in its stone monuments, and were naive enough to take the mocking smile of an educated European as admiration for their wealth, which allowed them to buy what they lacked in national tradition and culture.

Just these days, the book by the Scottish writer Eric Linklater "Juan in America" has been published in German translation, in which, without much outward verbosity but with the help of deadly effective irony, the Yankee spirit is held up to the mirror. One must have read this book, which takes place in the post-World War period, to understand today's Americans correctly. Recently, a news report from the USA circulated in the press, stating that in the United States, there was a belief that General Rommel had learned his widely admired military tactics from the Americans; even General Lee had proceeded in the American Civil War with his cavalry squadrons in the same way Rommel did with his tank brigades. One doesn't know whether to marvel more at this naive and brazen boasting or to despise it more. In any

case, it is genuinely American, and one can bet ten to one that most Americans are firmly convinced that this is the case.

Only in the USA is it possible for the President's wife to give lectures at charity events for a thousand-dollar fee and, as New York newspapers complain, simply take the due amount from the till, causing the event for war invalids to end in a deficit. The same Mrs. Roosevelt also appears as a mannequin at public teas, showcasing the latest fur models to a paying audience of astonished ladies. She writes a daily column in a whole series of USA papers titled "My Day," in which she extensively explains to her readership how she spent the previous day, what clothes she wore, which cocktail parties she attended, and which acquaintances she made there, as well as what she plans to do the following day.

We have often had a completely false picture of America. The Hollywood film industry is largely to blame, as it presented us with a standard of living and lifestyle in the USA that practically only exists for the upper ten thousand and of which the broad masses in the United States are only aware through films. Those knowledgeable about America usually vacillate in their judgment of the USA between unrestrained admiration and harsh rejection, with superficial observers admiring while deeper thinkers always reject. Certainly, on first glance, some things may seem impressive when one observes a still young continent in its adolescent years. But the height of skyscrapers alone is not a measure of the height of cultural standards. The same country that is at war with the oldest cultural nations of Europe and Asia to protect the freedom of the mind possesses no permanent theater or opera. A private enterprise like the New York Metropolitan Opera lived in peacetime only on German and Italian operas and singers and had to close its doors at the beginning of the war due to a lack of funds.

The USA has no poet, painter, architect, or composer of world renown. As far as they have any names of significance in cultural life at all, they are borrowed from Europe. The country has no own language, no own culture, and no own education. Everything is borrowed and mostly spoiled by Americanization, never improved. Americanization means a kind of kitschification, which results in giving every genuine cultural value an American stamp, turning a developed language into a slang, a waltz into a jazz piece, and a literary work into a tabloid story.

If the Americans had no money, they would probably be the most despised people in the world. Nowhere does arrogance seem as provocative as with them. They naturally build the best airplanes and tanks, and by the hundreds of thousands. They have the best soldiers and generals, and their defeats are only proof of the shrewdness with which they manage to evade the bravery of their opponents during their retreats. Their President is a kind of demigod, although he has so far only brought an economic catastrophe upon the country, seeing no other way out but war. In 1917, they promised Europe a savior, and in 1919, they sent a Wilson. They would repeat this crude deception today if we were not vigilant. In short, they are a nation still far from becoming one and a people lacking the most important prerequisite for being a people: a stable lifestyle.

According to official American statistics, New York has 190 Protestant and 430 Catholic churches but 1,000 synagogues. What else can one expect from a city that boasts a Jewish mayor who recently stood out at a reception for neutral journalists by trying to translate European problems into gangster jargon! The Jews have left their mark not only on this city but on the entire American public life. The President is surrounded only by Jewish advisors, and his wife paves the way for her Jewish friends into administration and war bureaucracy. One feels the need to let cold water run over one's hands for a while after reading American newspapers, so much intellectual filth do they pile up daily in their columns. For example, they report as a great sensation that a number of convicts have founded a club called the "Fighters Ltd." and offered their services to the President; they are ready to fight against aggression in the ranks of the allied nations, and Mr. Roosevelt gladly accepted this offer.

Name us a country in Europe where such an incident would be accepted by the public without protest! In the USA, not a single voice of protest is raised. The same President recently told reporters that an unexpectedly large number of young people were unfit for service in the army and navy because they could neither read nor write; for this reason, they had to be deferred. Is it any wonder that a cunning and demagogic leadership can do anything with a people of such educational standards? For example, they have a million victory badges manufactured at a time when the USA armed forces are suffering defeat after defeat and their shipping is almost struggling for survival on the world seas, and they naively declare that these badges are to be worn by the American occupation troops in the Reich

territory as a sign of their dignity once Germany is defeated. At a university in the southern United States, officers receive training in civil administration, military justice, and related subjects; their task is to administer the areas currently occupied by the Axis until proper governments are reinstated.

That so far no USA soldier has even set foot on foreign soil, but many have been driven off USA soil in disgrace, surrendering with 60,000 men and six months' worth of food and ammunition after a two to three-week siege, leaving behind only 600 dead, does not bother such a boastful leadership. It also has no people who could defend themselves against such frivolous illusion-making. Here, everything is just trash and hype, nothing that does not aim for sensation, an opinion that can be kneaded like bread dough, a true paradise for cunning Jews and businesspeople under the flag of democracy and Roosevelt's four freedoms, who place the country under a spiritual terror that is unparalleled.

Only in the USA does it seem possible for capital criminals to become famous gangsters, to be honored guests at the homes of mayors and police chiefs, and to give interviews to well-known journalists for papers with millions of circulations, where they present their views on life's and politics' questions to the public in measured words.

We would have nothing against it if the USA were aware of its intellectual and moral shortcomings and tried to slowly grow out of its infancy. But for them to appear cheeky and presumptuous towards a continent with at least a few millennia of glorious history, to arrogantly patronize it out of ignorance or a complete lack of genuine culture and education, and to try to give it moral and intellectual lectures, is too much even for us. We close our eyes to rudeness that can be excused by youthfulness. But here we are dealing with a kind of arrogance that gets on our nerves.

We have no understanding for Americanisms, which still live a somewhat late and faded life in certain circles among us. We do not see why, as the world's foremost musical nation, we should import even a single note from the USA. We possess a culture and education that will always remain closed to the majority of Americans. Anyone who has embraced this can only have little understanding for what they consider culture and education. We also affirm the technical character of our time; but behind it, we sense a

spiritual power that springs from the root of our nationality, and therefore, for us, mechanics is a means to an end, not an end in itself. As much as we know how to protect the achievements of modern civilization and make them our own to beautify life, we are equally convinced that this alone is not the meaning of existence, that there are also national values that are the result of centuries of history and tradition and that cannot be bought but acquired through generational work.

We, at least, do not wish to be buried in America. Amidst the chaos of the times, we have retained a sharp eye that allows us to distinguish between value and worthlessness, between gold and tinsel. We are not impressed in the slightest by American grandiosity and numerical orgies. We know that even across the Atlantic, trees do not grow to the sky. And as for God's own country: it was Europeans who discovered it, it is Europeans who still breathe life into it today, and if it were left to itself, it would soon sink back into desert and steppe, as vast and empty as the soul of its people.

Concentration of Forces
August 16, 1942

A great war strategy proves itself most clearly through the unified and concentrated use of its military means and capabilities to achieve well-defined, clear, time-bound, and limited objectives. If the war strategy, on the other hand, becomes boundless and allows for a dispersal of its human and material resources, it already carries the seed of failure and defeat within itself. German war strategy in the current worldwide struggle has always been characterized by the pursuit of a single grand plan at a time and never being deterred in its execution by any unpleasant side effects.

For example, when the war began, its first task was to overthrow the Polish seasonal state, leaving the West completely unaffected by military events, even though one or two western border provinces of the Reich suffered some damage as a result. This had to be accepted, considering that the Reich needed to have its back free in the East, at least temporarily, for its later confrontation with the Western powers. Had we proceeded the other way around and launched the offensive simultaneously in the East and the West, it would have led to a considerable dispersal of German forces and possibly called the success of the endeavor into question altogether.

The British are proceeding according to the opposite method. They engage wherever they find an opportunity, and the result is that they never fully deploy their military resources anywhere and, therefore, never achieve a significant victory. They could have, for example, abandoned East Asia from the start to hold the Middle East and the European front, or vice versa. They could have concentrated the air war on Reich territory or North Africa, but in neither case were their forces sufficient. They were able to cause us difficulties and wounds on all battlefields, but the victory of significance always eluded them.

No discerning observer is in doubt that the fate of the war is currently being decided on the battlefields of the East. It is about the existence or non-existence of the two warring parties. Whoever wins here has won overall. Therefore, nothing is more logical than for us to concentrate all our forces in the East to achieve the set goals, sparing no vital position that we can afford to. We must accept that we will suffer painful wounds elsewhere, but these differ from those our enemies suffer in that they do not have decisive significance for the war. It would, of course, be possible to withdraw several thousand aircraft from the East and use them for massive retaliatory attacks on England to the extent that the British Air Force would soon lose the desire to terrorize German cities and their population with treacherous night raids. We do not do this because we are waging war to win, not to give in to understandable feelings of revenge and thereby disperse our forces, which would be entirely in line with and planned by the enemy's war strategy.

We know that this understanding of general warfare may sometimes seem harsh to those painfully affected by it. Nevertheless, it is correct. Its correctness is seen in the opposite English example. Mr. Churchill wages war on impulse. He does not want to give up anything, even temporarily, and therefore gradually loses everything. We, on the other hand, accept occasional losses, even heavier ones, but win our campaigns in return.

It is in the nature of things that these losses almost always fall only on a part of the population. The other part is largely spared from them. It is therefore all the more necessary for them to understand this circumstance, so that the suffering part can at least have the awareness that if they are on the front line, the nation recognizes and appreciates it. There are large cities in the Reich that have been almost entirely spared from enemy air raids until

today. In other places, air alarms are an everyday and everynight occurrence. In certain provinces, life goes on as usual, aside from supply restrictions, losses of lives at the front, and other general sacrifices; other provinces, however, are in the midst of the war.

It is quite clear what the British leadership intends with their air raids on German territory. Mr. Churchill likely sees them as advance payments on the second front, which does not yet seem opportune to him. He wants to satisfy the accusations of the Soviets and the demands of his radicalized street. He probably does not believe that he can hit the German armaments industry in a way that is significant for the war—let alone decisive for it. His hope is rather aimed at shaking German morale, which, for some reason, he seems to believe is not as resilient as the British.

The English could endure it, the Germans will break under it!—this is London's opinion on this matter. We consider it beneath our dignity to respond to such an assumption. The population of the air-threatened provinces, due to their exemplary attitude, does not deserve to be explicitly defended against such an infamous insult. Their political insight is so matured, especially through the lessons the English give them with their terror attacks, that they know exactly what Mr. Churchill seeks to achieve, that a part of the heaviest burden of civilian warfare lies on their shoulders, that it is their turn, so to speak, and that they must now endure.

We have just returned from a trip to the Rhineland; we were in Cologne, Düsseldorf, and other western German cities and found these views confirmed everywhere. That air raids are no pleasure need not be particularly emphasized. The heart cramps in the chest when standing before the ruins of an ancient art or cultural monument or a large building block just completed before the war, especially when one, as in our case, has the most beautiful and dear childhood memories associated with such cities.

But on the other hand, everyone in the air-threatened areas knows that we would lose much more and probably everything if we gave in to the English terror. The war demands heavy sacrifices from the German people as well. It is inevitable that these sacrifices can only be distributed evenly and fairly to all shoulders as far as they are rationable. It has always been the fate of the border and coastal areas to bear more national burdens than the other

provinces of the Reich. However, this has made them particularly tough in enduring such burdens through their trials and experiences.

We experienced the occupation and separatist period in the Rhineland; we consider ourselves authorized, certainly more authorized than Mr. Churchill, to judge what the population there can endure and what not. We know Hamburg, Lübeck, Kiel, Rostock, and Emden from many visits. If London believes that air raids can shake the morale of these cities, it is in a fatal error that will have even more tragic effects if they build their main chances of success on it. The German people made a historical mistake in November 1918 and had to pay dearly for it. No German has the need or even the slightest intention to repeat this mistake. We have found this fact confirmed at every step during our visit to the Rhineland.

Mr. Churchill stated in his speech on May 11 of this year that the time had now come for England to proceed against the German home front. He said this at a stage of development when London still assumed that the German Wehrmacht had been largely weakened by the winter campaign in the East and was no longer capable of a major offensive. As a result, the terrorization of the German civilian population was seen as an entirely risk-free enterprise, in which England had little more to lose than the last remnants of its good reputation. In the meantime, the situation has already turned around thoroughly, and it continues to turn more and more each day. We are currently beating the English in the East, and we know that they can be hit there most sensitively and decisively for the war. One only needs to read London newspapers to see this opinion confirmed daily.

The preconditions for a future thorough reckoning with the English are thus being created on the battlefields of the East. Perhaps we can make good use of the current cynical grandiosity and brazen threats of the London plutocracy during such a reckoning. When their newspapers currently boast that the British air war against the German home front would be a salutary and humbling experience for us, and when London radio adds that the residents of the German cities in the West would contribute to a moral collapse of the German people, we want to remember the first and recall it when we have our hands completely free, and we want to dismiss the second with contempt on behalf of our Rhineland compatriots.

We have not been able to discover the slightest trace of such a development desired and hoped for by London in the West; only a burning hatred and a smoldering rage against the British hypocrites and false apostles of humanity, who still dare to approach the terrorized population with pious sayings and deceitful seductive arts. British propaganda has acquired the sad reputation during this war of representing about the most mindless and amateurish efforts currently existing in this field. The Soviets are lying; they are in a critical plight, who could blame them? The Americans indulge in naive bragging; they only know the European war from a measured distance. But the English are not only stupid in their propaganda but also so cynically brutal that they only repel even the most gullible. Their Jewish propaganda scoundrels should demand their tuition back. They encounter nothing but icy rejection from the German people with their brazen and offensive demands.

We would demean ourselves in front of these amateurs if we were to approach the population of the air-threatened areas with national admonitions. They are entirely superfluous and completely out of place. In western and northern Germany, everyone knows what to do in these difficult days and weeks for their homeland. The population stands there on the front line. They have to pay a sometimes painful tribute to Mr. Churchill's adventurous but ultimately helpless war strategy. But the airplanes that England uses against Reich territory are missing on the enemy side in North Africa and especially in the East. Who will ultimately profit from this force-dispersing warfare can only be revealed by the future. In this war, we have frequently taken blows in favor of higher operational or strategic goals, which, while painful at the moment, were mostly on the verge of being forgotten when the enemy bled out from the losses inflicted on them in the meantime. So it will be this time as well.

The entire German people have every reason to express their respect and gratitude to the men, women, and children of the air-threatened areas. They are currently bearing a particularly large portion of the burdens and sacrifices of the German homeland. They do so with a moral attitude that deserves all admiration and thus give the British war leadership a lesson that, in the long run, cannot be overlooked. They allow the Führer to concentrate German forces, which will be of decisive importance for the overall course of the war. Sooner or later, this will also be noticed in London, but hopefully and presumably, as always so far, when it is too late.

Then the day will not be far when we can give England the answer it deserves. We will remember everything it has done to us and not forget the cynical brutalities with which it justified its actions.

In the end, the one who seeks to achieve great goals with great means will win the war; and the one who lives from hand to mouth, chasing momentary successes and neglecting the concentration of their forces at critical moments, will never come to achieve a significant victory.

On the Meaning of the War

August 23, 1942

We are on the verge of completing the third year of this war that has been forced upon us. Throughout its course, it has expanded and taken on a breadth that only a few could have imagined at its beginning. From a relatively insignificant matter concerning the German city of Danzig and a corridor through the Corridor, it has grown into a struggle between continents, a world war in the truest sense of the word, deciding the fate of nations.

While at its beginning, only the occasion was seen, now the cause is clear: the possessive nations, led by a refined and insatiable plutocracy and its most radical offshoot, Bolshevism, suffocating in territorial possession and raw material wealth, have forced the German people and, with them, the Axis powers into a decisive armed struggle. It is about whether we will find a sufficient basis for our national life in the future or lose even the inadequate beginning that we already had. We must, so to speak, make amends for the failures of three centuries of fundamentally flawed national development. If we succeed, we will overcome all seemingly insoluble problems of our political, economic, and social constraints; if not, we would be lost forever.

Rarely has a generation in the history of a people carried such a heavy burden of responsibility for its past and its future as ours. This responsibility is rather increased than diminished by being compressed into a relatively short period. Whether we find it pleasant or unpleasant, welcome or unwelcome, does not change its existence. We must bear it because it is given and cannot be postponed. How one bears it is mostly a matter of character and temperament. Some undertake their demands and hardships with a sacred zeal and the seriousness that the great moment demands of us. By willingly accepting the sacrifices it demands and gladly and joyfully fulfilling their obligations, they demonstrate that they have grasped the meaning of the times and discover a greatness in their hardships and sufferings that lifts them far beyond our historical past and probably also our historical future. Despite everything, they would not want to live in any other time. They feel addressed to the core of their being and character by their gigantic tasks. They do not love war either; but they see it as the decisive test

of our people, which must be passed if we are to lay claim to a life corresponding to its greatness and rank. These people think not only politically but also historically.

It is clear that this cannot be everyone's concern. Again, this is a matter of character and temperament and has little or nothing to do with the burdens the individual has to bear. There are families in our nation that have lost three, four, or more sons in the course of this war and are hopelessly exposed to the fate of extinction. One can only read the death notices in the newspapers with emotion, in which they say goodbye to their last male name-bearer before the public. When a woman announces the heroic death of her husband and adds that she gave birth to a boy on the day of his demise, whom she sees as his last legacy and intends to raise in the spirit of our new outlook, a historical sense is revealed here through pain and tears, which we can only view with humble admiration for a classic greatness of human dignity and sublimity purified in deepest suffering.

We Germans have always been like this and not otherwise. Only the clarity of the goals of our political will has changed. We no longer live in cloud-cuckoo-land. We have stepped out of our former world of poetry and thinking and glowing ideals, which only satisfied the spirit but not the physical needs, into the harsher world of facts. This is also the reason why our enemies hate us so fervently and already perceive the mere existence of a more realistic attitude of the Germans towards the things of politics and national life as a threat and a poorly disguised attack on their own existence, which is stifling in satiety and abundance.

We were only popular in the world as long as we were convenient. A Germany that wages war for thirty years over the question of whether the Eucharist should be administered in one kind or in both kinds, that tears itself apart for seven years and makes the soil of its country the playground of all European opposites over the question of whether the Reich should be led by Prussia or Habsburg, and that, at the same time, while England is laying the foundations of its empire, is neither a competitor nor a danger to its neighbors, and it costs them nothing to grant it the character of a humane country well-versed in the arts and sciences. A Germany, however, that becomes aware not only of its own strength but also of its natural claim to life and the necessary means for it, that, instead of waging war for religious, spiritual, or at most intra-German goals, demands its share of the earth's

riches, that for the first time in its history turns its gaze to wheat and oil fields lying unused in their abundance, must, in the opinion of the wealthier nations, be recognized and fought as an international danger, regardless of what flimsy arguments may be used to justify this individually.

It is entirely wrong to derive the meaning of this war from its immediate cause. Just as our enemies ignited it over the question of Danzig and the Polish Corridor but did not limit it in their plans and objectives, we must also be clear that its aspects have expanded according to its duration and dimensions. The goals of a war must be in a logical relationship to the sacrifices a nation makes for it. The more national problems it addresses, the more it must also solve. It would be too cheap to expect us to victoriously overthrow the threat to the majority of the world with our allies, only to be satisfied in the end with Danzig and a highway through the former corridor.

The distribution of the earth is not divinely ordained but carried out by humans. It is changeable at any time. It is only a question of power, not of morality. Our enemies can easily be pious, as they possess in abundance what they need to live. They also took it once, and not through their piety, but through force. Now they own everything and we own nothing. We inhabit a living space that does not even allow us to survive a poor harvest without severe internal complications. The social program of National Socialism would be doomed to remain makeshift and patchwork if we did not succeed in this war in expanding our national existence base. This is less a question of bourgeois morality than of the life hunger of a people that has evidently been shortchanged on its historical path and now faces the dilemma of either fighting or resigning to its fate of creeping national sterilization.

At a certain stage, historical developments shed the legality imposed and established by humans with sovereign indifference and go their own way. This has long been the case with this war. Even if we did not want it, it would force a direction upon us that corresponds to its historical objective. One or the other may sometimes shudder before the gigantic breadth of the historical process; it helps him nothing, he too must continue on the path we have embarked upon. Every seed wants to sprout; where it has been sown, it must be harvested. The goddess of history, once invoked by humans and nations, does not retreat until her work is done.

Rarely is the peaceful development of a continent interrupted by stormy epochs of new formation. Then the earth falls into convulsive tremors that introduce the new birth with the most severe pains and torments. In such great moments, nations must be vigilant, especially since it is only here that they find the long and fervently desired opportunity to overturn with one stroke a fate of constriction borne with grumbling and despair for decades and centuries. As violently as the storms of time may sweep over the continents, they will one day suddenly find their calm, like a typhoon, and leave behind an earth that has again received its legally binding distribution and consolidation for a long period. Whoever stands empty-handed then has no hope of summoning the missed opportunity again; it is irretrievably gone.

We can only understand the sufferings and pains of our time correctly in light of these connections. Certainly, it is cruel that they are compressed into such a relatively narrow period and sometimes overwhelm us with such force that the faint-hearted might think they are about to become unbearable. But that does not change the fact that it is not up to us to postpone them or spread them over longer periods. They are part of the historical chance offered to us, and we only have to decide whether we want to seize it as a nation or not.

Only the answer to this question will be historically evaluated. Experience shows that even the heaviest sufferings brought to nations by historically significant events are relatively quickly forgotten. Who speaks today of what the German people had to endure and suffer in the Thirty Years' War, the Seven Years' War, or almost already in the World War? Only the historical results remain, for better or worse. We have no hope that future generations will excuse any failure of our generation in any phase of this war because of the burdens we were exposed to. As important and significant as these may seem to us, they will appear insignificant and meaningless to our children and grandchildren. They will judge us by our success, and rightly so, just as we judge our ancestors by their success without taking into account the circumstances under which it was achieved or not.

Every birth brings pain. But in the pain lies the joy of new life. It is a sign of sterility to fear new life because of the pain. The young mother is only for a short time during childbirth inferior in well-being to the childless woman but finds an abundant reward in the blessing of a family that remains her purest joy into old age. Our time, too, is a historical birth act that already

carries within its pains the deep joy of a richer life to come. The meaning of the war has grown with its dimensions. It is tirelessly working to break the old forms and ideas and to direct people's eyes towards a new, greater goal. Where we stood at the beginning of the war and where we already stand now! We are following the path prescribed to us and can neither turn back nor to the side. We must continue marching towards the goal that appears ever clearer in the distant haze before our eyes.

Everyone does this in their own way. If someone shows signs of weakness, the stronger one takes him under his arm. No one does not sometimes succumb to the temptations of an easier or safer life. But a categorical sense of duty keeps putting us back in line. We all know that if we do not succeed this time, we will never succeed again. This feeling does not make us weak but strong.

In a time that, like no other before, offers the highest happiness and deepest misfortune of our Reich, we as a people stand ready and determined to work and fight to fulfill the ultimate meaning of this war.

The Prisoner of the Kremlin

August 24, 1942

We do not blame Mr. Churchill for transforming from a Saul to a Paul in his relationship with Bolshevism since June 22, 1941. Although he had been one of the most ardent haters of the Moscow doctrine and practice from the beginning of the Soviet Union until that day, never missing an opportunity to wield the journalistic cudgel against it, he became as meek as a lamb with the Soviet Union's entry into the war against the Axis powers. He burned everything he had previously worshipped and worshipped everything he had previously burned. But what does a man of his caliber care about that! He does not belong to those politicians who afford the luxury of steadfast character; when it comes down to it, he changes his color like a chameleon. Besides, England is not currently in a position to choose its friends and allies based on the similarity of political and moral views. Mr. Churchill simply faces the dilemma, like the bird in the proverb, of eating or dying. He might well excuse himself that in war, it is a stroke of luck if allies share not only common interests but also common ideals. In short, who will cast the first stone at him?

That is not the decisive factor. Politics and warfare generally do not follow the principles of bourgeois morality but rather those of pure expediency. Therefore, it is not a question of how Mr. Churchill behaves morally, but how he behaves politically, that is, in this case, whether his alliance with Bolshevism has brought more benefit or more harm to the British Empire in the long run. It cannot be denied that England has suffered not only severe military and power-political losses since the beginning of this war but also prestige-wise losses, which may once prove much more disastrous than those. It is no longer the world power it likes to pose as. At sea, it has had to relinquish much of its far-reaching influence to the USA and on land to the Soviet Union. While it has saved blood by having other nations fight the war for it, it has lost life in the same measure.

This process has been accelerated rather than slowed by its alliance with Bolshevism. This can be observed in a number of symptoms which, while not noticeable to the man on the street in London today due to the

emergency and urgency of the hour, would have driven England into a frenzy in normal times, because it is easy to see that the British government and war leadership are no longer masters of their own decisions but are pressured by non-English forces in the most important and crucial questions and forced into decisive actions, no matter how foolish and shortsighted they may be.

We shall remain silent about the disgraceful side effects of such a state of political captivity. When Mr. Churchill recently made his visit to Moscow — the first visit ever made by a British Prime Minister to the Russian capital — and arrived after a strenuous days-long flight, he found to his astonishment only minor Soviet personalities prepared to receive him at the airport. The Reuters bureau made the matter worse by adding as an excuse that Stalin had not come because he had business in the Kremlin. Imagine the embarrassment of the situation, which was evidently intended by the Soviets as an open snub to show the English gentlemen very clearly that their Prime Minister did not come as a demander, as the naive London newspapers wanted to believe, but as a supplicant.

Mr. Churchill tried to cover up this embarrassment with one of his well-known clownish antics, raising his hand in greeting with the index and middle fingers spread into a "V" for victory. However, the Bolshevik dignitaries assembled at the airport intentionally misunderstood this and, not without wit, claimed it meant "two," signifying the second front. They even made a wide issue of it in their newspapers to teach Mr. Churchill at the beginning of his visit that he should not hope to distract the Soviets from their legitimate demands with his familiar antics.

He had to march past a detachment of the Red Army to the sounds of the Internationale, and then for four days, Stalin and his henchmen took him to task. It was unnecessary to play the mouse to know what he was told. Initially, he intended to explain to the Soviets that a second front could not be established at the moment; instead, it was made clear to him that such a front was absolutely necessary and was categorically demanded by the Kremlin. All his persuasion skills and convoluted explanations were apparently of no use. He was pressured to keep his promise, which he had given under entirely different conditions during Molotov's visit to London, and to make it a reality as soon as possible. Stalin is certainly not a man to be trifled with, and besides, the Soviets are in such a catastrophic situation that they have no choice but to demand relief from England, whatever the cost.

The British newspapers tried to give the impression after Churchill's visit to Moscow that their Prime Minister had acted there as a sort of accuser against the Soviet ambassador in London, Maisky, who, with rather bold demands for a second front, was making the streets rebellious and causing significant difficulties. Of course, there can be no question of that. The English Communists agitate on Maisky's orders even after Churchill's visit to Moscow, in meetings and with posters, increasingly for the second front, and the British government must gnash its teeth and comply. It sits between two stools: on the one hand, it knows as well as we do that attempting to establish a second front is tantamount to political and military suicide; on the other hand, it is kicked in the stomach by the street in London and in the opposite part of the body by the Kremlin.

Mr. Churchill found himself in such a dilemma when he embarked on the insane venture of Dieppe. There can be no doubt that he wanted to try it once against better judgment and sent the Americans, Canadians, and Gaullists ahead to give the loudest shouters a lesson. He denies today that he tried a large-scale invasion; it was just an experiment to gain experience, he claims. These experiences were very costly with 2095 prisoners, 28 destroyed tanks, 127 lost aircraft, and a whole number of war and transport ships now resting at the bottom of the Channel.

Mr. Churchill undoubtedly hoped at the beginning of the operation that a miracle might happen and bring about a success he himself did not believe in. The miracle naturally did not occur. The invasion troops were swept out of Europe within nine hours, as even the English have to admit. They certainly made an attempt to establish the second front. But as we predicted, even the attempt is punishable. That they intended more than they achieved is proven by the facts, especially by the good wishes the British and USA press gave the operation at the beginning. That they turned the tables at its disgraceful end, making an English failure a success and a retreat a victory, does not surprise us given London's previous practices in this area. The evidence they present for their abnormal thesis is truly pitiful. That the operation succeeded can be seen from the fact that it could be broken off as planned after nine hours. If the invaders had been driven out after six or ten hours, the English would undoubtedly, as can be easily calculated, have planned six or ten hours. And if they had unexpectedly been able to establish themselves on the Channel coast, that would probably have been in their plan.

One can understand that we feel the need to yawn when refuting such stupidities. It is too foolish.

The Canadians, who returned to England after fleeing the hell of Dieppe, looked like refreshed giants, reported Radio London. It is known that giants have the property of looking refreshed. And the broad smile a British commentator claimed to have discovered on England's face during the critical hours has now given way to an expression of helpless embarrassment. The demonstrators who gathered in the streets of American and Canadian cities to celebrate upon hearing the first news from Dieppe wore out their shoe soles for nothing. Their songs had not yet faded when the brave invasion soldiers were already torn and bleeding in German captivity or lying dead on the beaches of Dieppe or, richer in experience, fleeing back to the safe soil of England. "The Allies pursued the goal of supporting the morale of the Soviet troops with this attack," reported the New York station. It somewhat unclearly expressed what was really meant: that Mr. Churchill was forced in Moscow to do something if something worse should not happen to the Soviets, and he had to bite the bullet with a grimace.

We do not need to repeat what we think of the second front and its possibilities and prospects. This has been done so extensively that we can only repeat ourselves. Our earlier predictions have been fully confirmed by the Dieppe operation. We need not retract anything or add anything. We only feel compelled to point out a situation that is as dangerous as it is humiliating for England. British politics and warfare have been fully in tow of the Soviets since Churchill's visit to Moscow. London is no longer master of its own decisions. If it is already unfortunate in war to put the government under the pressure of one's own street, how disastrous must it be to deliver it to the blackmail of a foreign country, especially the Soviet Union.

Mr. Churchill is the prisoner of the Kremlin. On June 22, 1941, the anti-Bolshevik became a friend of the Soviets. During his visit to Moscow, he became their tool. Although he has emancipated himself from the House of Commons during the war, he now bears the yoke of Bolshevism, which becomes heavier day by day. He must dance to the Soviets' tune. He does not attempt the second front when he considers it appropriate and feasible, but when the Kremlin orders it. He has no choice but to obey. And since the preservation of his power position stands above all his decisions, he does not

hesitate to deploy and sacrifice human lives in any number for an undertaking that can only have arisen from coercion or madness.

It was somewhat amusing last week to observe how the English press found a new excuse every day for the catastrophically failed Dieppe operation. Once it was actually an invasion, then only an attempt, then an experiment, and then a raid to gather experience. Once it was a sea battle, then an air battle, and then a land operation. These fluctuating accounts show how uncertain the British commentators feel. Meanwhile, as we expected, the hangover has set in in London, and more and more it is becoming clear that it probably was a failure. When the first news of the British-American operation came, we remained silent but inwardly triumphant. We knew all too well that we would be able to report the total collapse of the action on the same day. With great satisfaction, we observed in the following hours how the English retreated not only militarily but also journalistically. In the evening, they had no choice but to repeat the announcement of the OKW without comment. They always do that when they have received such blows that they are ashamed to admit it themselves.

When a fool claims it is raining in the sunshine and insists on it, it is best not to counter him with logical arguments. The sun proves itself. When the English speak of a victory after a dreadful defeat and stubbornly stick to it, they should be left alone. A victory also proves itself.

Mr. Churchill must carry out Stalin's orders. He tries to provide an alibi for the English people. We can remain indifferent to that. The avenging Nemesis will catch up with him one day. Whoever eats from Bolshevism dies from it. Dieppe was just another proof of that.

Don't Be Too Just!

September 6, 1942

We Germans are still a young people with all the virtues and weaknesses as well as all the advantages and disadvantages of youth. Our national feeling is of relatively recent origin and therefore still subject to many challenges. We have lived too long in tribal concepts for our national consciousness to be a matter of course for all of us. A phrase like "Right or wrong, my country!" which is an undisputed and unquestioned maxim of state life in England, for example, is difficult for us Germans to grasp.

We have a very strong sense of individual justice; moreover, we sometimes suffer from a kind of over-objectivity, which mostly benefits our worst enemies at the expense of our own interests. An appeal to our decency has always found an echo in our hearts, and we do not even think long about whether it is sincerely meant or just speculating on our good-naturedness. If the German people were left without clear leadership for a few years, it would very soon become a colorful conglomerate of individualities again. Nothing is more characteristic of our national character than the fact that the many millions of German-Americans, although they maintain and cultivate their social sense for a long time in bowling clubs, singing and homeland associations, very soon lose their national feeling.

Only National Socialism has given us Germans something like a national consciousness. For the first time, it has at least given a certain layer of the currently living generation an idea of what it means and what obligations it entails to be a world people. But even all of this is still so young and fragile that we always have to be on guard so that it does not get damaged.

Our enemies know this better than we do; and this is where their attrition propaganda comes in. One can hardly imagine that any other people, like us in 1918, would have fallen for such a grotesque enemy bluff. For us, it was inconceivable that our opponents did not have the same ideal notions and concepts as we did. We saw them as they seemed to be based on some shallow world-improving phrases, and it took years for us to see through the

deception. But we Germans do not belong to those who hold grudges for long. On the contrary, we even like to impose our sympathies on other peoples who show no desire for them. Nothing stopped us from soon considering the French as our declared friends again, even after Versailles, and this war, which was instigated against us not only in London but also in Paris and ultimately goes against our very existence, has hardly shaken our friendly attitude towards the French.

One can hardly imagine what our people would do to a government that wanted to deceive it as Mr. Churchill's deceives the English. And yet there are people among us who want to see a kind of political style in this. They are not even embarrassed by the fact that all of this is directed against us and is the real cause of our war troubles and worries. We are so afraid of wronging someone else that we would rather wrong ourselves in case of doubt. One cannot really say that the German leadership has succumbed to many errors during this war. On the whole, we have always accurately analyzed the respective situation and development. But there are those among us who eagerly forget everything we predicted correctly and just as eagerly remember and repeatedly cite the rare cases in which we supposedly erred.

No one would want to claim that this is fair. It is all the more provocative when these same people simultaneously extend a kind of over-justice to the enemy, which is entirely out of place. They find every eccentricity of ours, no matter how sympathetic, ridiculous, while they consider the most primitive popularity-seeking by the enemy as originality. It doesn't take much intelligence to see through Mr. Churchill's tricks. It should not be denied that he has a high degree of demagogic talent. But that is all. We find it downright insulting to even mention him in the same breath as the Führer. One could not imagine an Englishman granting the Führer, who after all is and means everything he is and means by his own efforts, who lives in almost legendary simplicity, making hardly any claims on personal existence but shaking the whole world with the dynamism of his ideas, even a trace of justice. He is England's enemy, and that's that. The English save their sentimentalities for after the war when they cost nothing.

We are entirely different. If one of our newspapers calls a statesman of the enemy side by some harsh names, names which can be found daily in heaps against the Führer even in the so-called serious British press, then suddenly the German mania for justice awakens, then our Michel feels

compelled to take the enemy statesman under his personal protection, duly highlight his few good sides, and completely ignore his cynicisms and abominations. We Germans still have to learn how to hate. We are not well-suited for chauvinism, and if someone among us wants to get the people's blood boiling, they have to be very skillful about it. There are even German soldiers who march 1,000 km through eastern wastelands, which only present a picture of horror and spiritual devastation; and then they discover an atlas somewhere in a village school, stand in front of it pondering, and cast doubt on whether there might not be something valid in Bolshevism after all.

The English trample a whole valuable ancient culture in India without even considering investigating its development and value. They are simply English. They hold the view that the world exists for the English, while we hold the view that we Germans exist for the world. That is the difference. And since there is no doubt that the British standpoint has proven more suitable for practical political life, we have always fallen short compared to the English. Many among us would firmly reject being like the English, which, however, does not prevent them from admiring precisely what they reject for themselves in the English. The English consider it self-evident that one speaks English with them. We would be embarrassed to make the same request to a foreign conversation partner. We stammer French or English, even trying to grasp the secrets of the American slang to avoid inconveniencing him with pure English.

Are these the traits that make us particularly popular in the world? By no means! This German deficiency is rather an object of contempt than admiration. If certain people had spent half a year in England before the war, they considered it their duty to mix English phonetics into their pronunciation; they emphasized English cuts in their clothing, ate English, drank not coffee but Five o'clock tea, and went out only with a rolled-up umbrella, entirely insensitive to the pitying grin of their fellow citizens and with a mocking expression of contempt for a homeland from which they originated and which became alien or even repugnant to them at the first encounter with a new world.

We Germans still have much to learn if we want to assert ourselves definitively, both intellectually and socially. Some among us, and usually those who pride themselves particularly on their good upbringing and social background, suddenly develop inferiority complexes abroad. They behave in

the world of others as if they had to apologize and put on a face like someone attending a formal dinner for the first time, unsure whether to eat the fish with a knife or otherwise. We feel entirely free from this inferiority complex and can therefore speak openly about it. When we received an English or American journalist before the war who wanted to act boorishly and boldly asked if we did not understand English, we did not stammer or feel embarrassed but briefly told the uncouth lout in German that even if we could speak English, we would not speak it with him and showed him where the door was. He usually understood that very well.

We do not want to be misunderstood. Nothing could induce us to underestimate the enemy, and nothing helps better in understanding him correctly than studying him diligently. Of course, we know that the English are not a people of devils. They, too, have traits that deserve admiration. But we do not talk about them as long as they do not leave a good hair on us. And besides, we are at war. We do not hesitate to admit that we hate them from the deepest depths of our souls and with fervor because they threaten our lives, because they want to keep us trapped in the narrowness of our national existence, purely out of envy, jealousy, and poorly concealed national jealousy.

How could we be more just to them than they are to us? We conduct the war according to the principles of pure expediency. We do not want to experience another catastrophe like November 1918. We do not aim for the enemy's mercy but for our right, secured by military means. This has nothing to do with objectivity. No reproach is easier for us to bear than being biased. We do not want to pass an objective judgment when it comes to our existence or questions of our national life; we are wholly partisan, wholly biased, wholly stubborn and obstinate in our one-sidedness. Do not come to us with the objection that this is not German. It may be that the opposite is German; but then it is a bad and dangerous side of our national character that we must combat. Where would it lead if we became unjust to ourselves out of sheer objectivity and a desire for justice! Even Klopstock once scourged this German national vice by calling out to our people not to be too just, as their enemies did not think nobly enough to see how beautiful their fault was.

Whether beautiful or not, it is a fault. It has already caused us great harm in our history, more than we could bear. Our current constraint is to a significant extent a result of this. We lacked that portion of healthy national

egoism in the decisive hours of our history that unconditionally defends national interests beyond objectivity and a desire for justice and is not deterred by any sentimentality. If today the Germans were suddenly without leadership, they would presumably, as so often before, wander the world, carrying culture, civilization, and education everywhere but forgetting to take grain and oil with them. Our world mission today is to give the German people, as the heart of humanity, a broader basis for their existence. This is also an ideal, but a realistic one, and above all one that justifies the heavy sacrifices.

We would be ashamed to look the mothers who gave their sons, the children who gave their fathers, and the wives who gave their husbands in the eye if we stood empty-handed again at the end of this war. Therefore, we warn against any danger that threatens us, especially those rooted in our own national character. The bourgeois age of false and hypocritical concepts of humanity is over. A hard century has dawned. It will not be mastered with squeamishness but only with manliness and strength. The world is divided into lovers and haters. Only those who know exactly where to love and where to hate stand on solid ground.

There is only one fact and demand that is objectively right and incontestable for us: that we must win. Let us serve this!

On the Art of Improvisation

September 13, 1942

We Germans are known and famous throughout the world for our mastery of the art of organization like no other people. Organization has become a kind of global concept with the prefix "German." We know how to plan an action down to the last detail, prepare it systematically, and, when the time comes, execute it like clockwork. No one can match us in this. Our great offensives were exemplary demonstrations of such planning. One sometimes had the impression that everything was calculated at the desk exactly as it unfolded in reality. Everything interlocked, one gear kept the other moving, and nothing failed to bring the entire mechanism to a halt. On a cursory observation, one felt directly transported to the maneuver field. The Wehrmacht machinery was so interwoven and coordinated with the state, economy, and general administration that hardly any idle times could be observed. It seemed as if Moltke's dictum of strategy as a system of expedients had lost its meaning and significance.

It was in the nature of development that, with the war's prolonged duration, tasks emerged before the military leadership that lay outside any peacetime calculations. The war itself entered a more urgent phase and presented problems that grew in scope and magnitude with its spatial expansion. Normal organization was insufficient to master them. These problems were so acute and immediate that they did not always allow for long preparation times; they had to be tackled and mastered immediately, so to speak, from spontaneous decision. In place of far-sighted planning, direct action often had to take over. Organization had to be temporarily supplemented by improvisation.

The National Socialist movement owed a large part of its success to its improvisational talent and, thus, felt at home in this art. Not that it disregarded the value of solid organization or underestimated its advantages. On the contrary, its party structure was built on an organization thought out down to the last detail and spanning the entire country. However, this organization itself faced such diverse tasks in the movement's rise to power that pre-calculated planning was often excluded from the outset. Conditions

were different everywhere; in each district, even in each local group, action had to be taken based on different perspectives and starting points. And anyone who waited for orders from above in difficult local matters had already lost. This period was almost made for improvisational talents. They felt comfortable in the invigorating atmosphere of daily changing problems, where only the fundamental principles were fixed, but tactics and practice had to be found and tested anew each time.

The success of improvisational work requires quick action and occasional minor imperfections to be accepted in the interest of prompt execution. Certain talents only begin to awaken and react in such a creative climate. When official assistance, planning, and care prepare everything and set things in motion so that there is little left for individual initiative, such talents instinctively consider it less worthwhile to act. They then allow themselves to be handled rather than taking action themselves. Only when the normal organizational apparatus proves insufficient and there is little additional help and improvement to be expected from it do they come into play. They work more from the wrist than the far-sighted planner. They differ from the latter primarily in that they approach their tasks more non-dogmatically and undogmatically, following the principle that if it doesn't work this way, it must work that way.

It cannot be denied that these talents represent a huge reserve of silent national resources that have not yet been fully tapped. This reserve is largely covered by a naturally more inflexible organization that does not always willingly allow it to come into play because it unjustifiably perceives it as competition. In our view, it should be entirely indifferent during the war who does something as long as it gets done. Organization primarily requires diligence and constructive thinking, while improvisation requires imagination. One must come up with something when improvising. One must know the silent reserves of a people and address them effectively. Some people, for example, predicted a total failure for the collection of wool and winter clothing last December. They considered the time too short and the available possibilities too limited. This would certainly have been correct if the action had been carried out according to an official scheme, worked out in detail, aimed at long-term effects, and relied more on the state's resources than appealing to the entire people's imagination and inventiveness.

Observe how in wartime everyday life, the people themselves come up with countless practical solutions in general emergencies, without any intervention from above. Here, the people's healthy imagination and alert instinct for life begin to take effect. The less things are specifically determined and centralized by the state, the more room is given to the people's practical assistance. This not only brings about additional work performance but also mobilizes the people's immediate and involved interest in wartime everyday life, which cannot be overestimated in its value for the overall potential of our war efforts.

This is precisely what matters. We do not regulate wartime life in laws and regulations down to the last detail, leaving nothing for individual initiative to do. It is nonsense to assume that our capacity in all areas is already exhausted. It still offers possibilities for enormous additional achievements, which, however, can only be made fruitful if individuals are also personally engaged with their interests. Certainly, everything fundamental must be regulated by the state. For example, one cannot leave the food economy to the play of free forces because then one part of the population would get everything and the other nothing. But personal initiative should be left a space where it can act in its interest without the danger of having the results of personal diligence taken away again by organization.

We speak from countless experiences gathered in practical party work. There are sectors in public life where a maximum of success is achieved with a minimum of organizational effort. This requires everyone's cooperation. And that can only be mobilized through generous improvisation. If, for example, the vegetable shops in a major city are temporarily insufficient, then the flower shops, which are not fully utilized in their work, must be brought in, even at the risk that the increased business costs will make the vegetables slightly more expensive for a few weeks. In wartime, more than ever, time is also money. And it is much cheaper to be served quickly for a few pennies more than to pay the lower price by standing in line for hours.

One should take the life of the front as a model for civilian life. The front is constantly forced to improvise. It must largely live off the land, and what it offers is always subject to change. If the motor doesn't start because of the cold, the sled is used. If one comes across camel caravans, the soldier

places his luggage on the backs of these faithful animals or even rides them himself, regardless of whether this is provided for in the field service regulations. War is abnormal. It is in constant change, and those who master the art of adapting to this change with the greatest flexibility will succeed. The conditions of combat in the West were different from those in the East. This had to be considered in practice. Likewise, civilian life at the threshold of the fourth war year is subject to different requirements than in the first war year. We were recently in Warsaw and were amazed to see how the existence of this city of millions, which seemed doomed at the end of 1939, has recovered. Here, necessity made people inventive. It would be desirable for it to help us more as well, without being as urgent as it is there; this could only help overcome the war's difficulties.

Nothing changes as quickly for us as our worries. They are partly seasonal, partly regionally determined. What is scarce in one district of the Reich is sufficiently available in another, and vice versa. The deficiencies of winter hardly matter in summer. Before the naturally sluggish state apparatus can take action here, the opportunity is usually long gone. The province or district or even the individual must help themselves within the framework of legal provisions. Potato trains on the loading platforms of cities suffering from a potato shortage must be unloaded by the public if there is a temporary lack of unloading personnel or transport means for local transport. Suitable possibilities can also be found for local transport.

Here, the appeal to the people must be made. They will willingly step in to help in a momentary emergency, especially if it serves their interests. And you can't tell from the potato whether it was transported into the cellar by a hundred trucks or five thousand handcarts. It is very cheap to wait for help from above. Above, there are other things to do than unload potatoes at train stations. Study the reports on the self-help of the population in air-threatened areas after a night of bombing and learn from them what the individual is capable of additionally achieving and what they are willing to do in less urgent cases if addressed correctly.

If everyone in Cologne, Düsseldorf, or Hamburg who had an incendiary bomb fall on their roof had waited for the fire brigade, in most cases, the house would have burned down. Certainly, it is the fire brigade's job to put out fires; but the public only has a claim to their help under normal

circumstances. When extraordinary events occur — and war is altogether an extraordinary event — state assistance must largely be replaced by self-help.

What did we National Socialists not have to do in the struggle for power to achieve our goal? Through what difficulties did we not have to struggle until we had victory in our hands? Certainly, it did not always go smoothly, and of the thousand things we did, some were always wrong. But we did something. If a district or local leader had turned to the party leadership in Munich every time with his local worries, he would have been laughed at. Munich had more important things to do. That is why he was a district or local leader: to deal with these worries alone. This was the great opportunity for initiative talents. This spirit must now be transferred from the party to the state and the entire public life. We all must learn to improvise to a much greater extent. The war does not always allow us to pre-calculate all its problems and prepare accordingly. These sometimes come

quite suddenly, only to disappear just as suddenly. As suddenly as they appear, we must face them just as suddenly, mainly with common sense.

In a major city, a heavy English air raid takes place. The responsible district leader is on duty for three days and nights, organizing the fire brigade and self-help, ensuring food, coffee, and tobacco, creating emergency shelters for the homeless, moving burned-out department stores into quickly cleared museums, speaking in short, heartfelt appeals to the population to give them courage and strength, taking care of the helpless, being everywhere needed, and can proudly answer every phone call from Berlin that he does not need help from the Reich and will manage alone.

This was the case not only here but in all districts of the Reich. There, the highest political leadership, trained in long party experience, proves itself. Here, from lively imagination and political fantasy, grows the power of improvisation, the most effective help in emergency and crisis.

The Steep Ascent

September 20, 1942

It is clear and understandable that the question of the war's probable duration is asked more frequently in its fourth year by both friend and foe than in its first. Not only has the war itself undergone certain changes, but so have people and nations. On both sides, they view things more realistically today than at its beginning. Deeds now mean more than speeches and slogans. People want clarity about the meaning, purpose, and goal of the enormous military and political events. And it was certainly no coincidence that during Churchill's last speech in the House of Commons, a large number of members left the session to engage in more useful activities than merely listening. They knew anyway that the Prime Minister had nothing significant or new to report. The war is determined and decided by realities, not by agitational speeches, and Churchill was unable to present any significant realities given the current state of affairs.

What he had to offer in his defense could just as well be read in the newspapers the next day. Moreover, the German OKW reports provided a more compelling picture of the military situation than Churchill's added demagogic comments.

Similar symptoms of changing public opinion are reported from all warring countries. In contrast, we do not need to fundamentally change our tactics and practice of general political and military news reporting. From the outset, we have viewed the war realistically and have always avoided taking it too lightly or too seriously. We see and continue to see it as a great tragic drama of nations that must be brought to a victorious end with the full exertion of our national strength. The outcome will determine whether we as a nation will gain unrestricted freedom of self-determination or perish. It is, of course, not indifferent how long it lasts; but this question is secondary to the fact that we must win it and that all conditions are given for us to win it.

We have often pointed out that great historical developments have their own laws, which they follow even against human intentions if necessary. The great and decisive question of a coming Europe is of secular importance.

It was already ripe for discussion long before this war broke out, and it took no great foresight to recognize that it would become the pivot of the entire problem during its course. It was foreseeable that the reactionary, Europe-hostile powers would resist even raising this question. They live off the unresolved nature of this problem, and no means are too far-fetched or absurd for them to obstruct its solution.

Whether one regrets it or not, the fact remains that great historical transformations come about only with great sacrifices and bloodshed. Even the American Union achieved its territorial cohesion only through a terrible war, and the German people had to fight a series of them to achieve their national-political unity. It would be short-sighted to measure such a historical process by the yardstick of contemporary worries and desires, thereby losing sight of its true essence. We Germans, who suffered the most from the old, now overcome state of our continent, should have the most understanding for this. We live in an era of historical rebirth, with all the pains, but also with all the wishes and hopes that such a period brings.

The question of the war's duration is usually shaped by the questioner's wishful thinking. It almost always depends on what the individual expects from the war's outcome. There is no definitive answer to it. Just as in a crisis period before a war breaks out, one can usually say little about whether and when it will come, so too can little be said during a war about when peace is to be expected. But experience shows that both war and peace often do not come when they are believed to be near, and are just as often suddenly there when hardly expected. So it was in the struggle for internal power in the Reich in 1932. On August 13, 1932, all experts were convinced that the hour of National Socialism had struck. Nevertheless, the movement seemed to be set back for years. Five months later, when no one expected it, we were suddenly in power.

Such historical anomalies naturally have an inner meaning. It is just difficult to understand this meaning in the weeks or months when they occur. Today we know very well why the time for our takeover on January 30, 1933, was riper than on August 13, 1932. And the five months in between, although they seemed lost to us at the time, were not purposeless historically. The observer of ongoing historical developments — and this applies more to the war than to any other — sees time somewhat like an open barrel into which the drops of events continually fall, but which eludes his view in that he

cannot determine whether and at what rate the water level rises or falls; he only notices when the water level reaches the rim and the barrel overflows due to the last drops falling in. Even before this, the experienced ear can only detect by the sound of events whether the level is rising or falling.

No objection of the English is as foolish as the one that all battles can be lost to win the last one. This is true only if the victorious people, like us in 1918, make the fatal mistake of voluntarily giving up the trump card of their won battles and campaigns. Otherwise, such pawns are in the hand of the victor. We possess so many of them that we need not worry about the war's outcome. Never in history has a warring power created so many conditions for victory in such a relatively short time as we have this time. We have always been on the offensive so far, and our opponents' wisdom has consisted only in waiting for each winter to gain a respite, which they owed not to their military resilience but exclusively to the seasonal change of nature. We also do not see how and why this course of events could ever change; for every new summer has so far increased our war potential in all areas. For example, in terms of raw materials and weapons, we are much better off today than at the beginning of the war, not to mention the number and quality of our trained troop reserves.

Of course, we will have to make heavier sacrifices for the longer duration of the war; but these will also be offset by greater gains. Practically, almost all of Europe is at our disposal for our war effort today. The Anglo-Saxon powers are not a match for us even with the hardest effort, and they are still far from it. The human and resource-rich Soviet Union is already so severely amputated that it must be considered decisively weakened in its war potential.

We do not think much of comparisons of figures and statistics, from which the layman is supposed to deduce the staying power of one warring side or the other. Statistics gain their probative value only through the people behind them. If one may infer the future from the past — and what other argument than mere words would be available to us for that — so far, at least, development has proven us right. The English are eagerly trying to calculate for us in every campaign that we have not achieved the goals we envisioned by attempting to prescribe goals to us that we never set for ourselves and therefore never expressed. But still, they cannot deny that they have always outlined such goals for themselves, in contrast to us, and have never achieved

them. It is almost childish to set us a specific deadline for achieving a specific success and to conclude that if this deadline is not met, we have definitively lost the war. By that reckoning, this would have happened about a hundred times already. This war, like none before it, is not conducted according to the English calendar. It represents a worldwide, bitter struggle, and the winner will be the one who still holds the most trumps in the final round.

We recently saw pictures of the Dieppe operation from the British perspective in a London illustrated magazine; the naive reader had to get the impression that it was essentially a cheerful raid in which the English only gained valuable experiences for future operations on the continent. They were able to show a total of three German prisoners of war, who appeared in all the pictures and were apparently meant to underscore the English success in the most effective way. Of course, there was nothing to see of the long rows of British-Canadian dead and prisoners as we could show them in the German newsreel. We do not doubt that one can deceive and mislead one's own people with such reporting for a time; we only doubt that it can change the facts. Dieppe, to use a metaphor, was a torrent into the open barrel, and Mr. Churchill enjoys the advantage of the reporting that his own people do not see the rising water level. But it still rises. Reality does not change its face because part of the people does not perceive it. Mr. Churchill is thus able to correct the relationship of the British people to the development of the war; the development itself, however, escapes his correction, and that is the decisive factor. Since the beginning of this war, we have tirelessly drawn the attention of our people and the world to its cause, its nature, and its goals. We enjoy a steadily growing audience with our sober and entirely unpretentious presentations of the situation and believe that the strength of our realistic argumentation will outlast British deception. Time also works for us in this regard. We consider the resumption of World War methods in news politics to be absolutely misguided and are repeatedly confirmed in this opinion by the development itself. We do not need to use agitation tricks to make ourselves heard. Far from any vain pursuit of popularity, we pursue a path of clear and unadorned representation, which only sets limits where the general national interests require it.

What should prompt us to see the situation more rosily than it is? It already gives us every chance of victory. It will demand many more sacrifices and efforts from us. But we believe it is more correct to draw the

public's attention to this in time so that neither we nor our people fall victim to any illusions.

In this war, it is about our lives.

We all know that. Those who do not know it yet are repeatedly reminded of it by the British-American revenge fanatics. Ahead of us lies a steep ascent. But we believe that it can be better conquered by a people trained in the hardships of mountaineering through years of tough exercise than by a people that has learned mountaineering only on the plains. We have no reason to deceive ourselves or the world. We are fully aware of our task and our chances. We know what we want. But what is even more important: we also want what we know.

The Steep Ascent Preface

To anyone who was able to attend the Sportpalast rally on February 18, 1943, it will remain an unforgettable experience. Once again, Dr. Goebbels had captivated the masses with his thoughts. He showed them the way when they began to doubt if there was any way out of the crisis. They cheered for him again, shaken, liberated, filled with new faith, pulsed with new strength and confidence, inspired and filled with firm determination and defiant will to victory.

In the midst of one of the spontaneous and eruptive demonstrations of the masses, something happened: suddenly a wave went through the forest of flags and standards lining the speaker's platform. It was as if the symbols of the NSDAP had come to life: without a call, not in the exact tempo of a commanded movement, but like a gradually rising wave, they rose, rustled, and stood as the soulful expression of this moment of uplift.

Then, this rally was over. The people, still stirred by the experience, returned to their workplaces or homes. The power of the speech was broadcast over the radio to millions of listeners; newspapers spread the text millions of times across the vast area encompassed by the front lines of our soldiers.

From the word came the deed. The speech translated into laws and regulations. More happened than these could achieve: the whole nation was imbued with the spirit from which alone real life could be won, which otherwise would have remained only a paper paragraph. The entire German people were determined to radicalize the conduct of the war to the utmost and to employ all means and forces of the nation to achieve a clear, unequivocal, uncompromising victory.

At that time, a Swiss newspaper coined the phrase: "Dr. Goebbels can be considered the motor of total warfare in Germany," and even a major English newspaper could not deny with concern: "Of course, he acts at this moment as Hitler's representative, equipped with special powers to enforce the total mobilization. In Germany, Dr. Goebbels is undoubtedly recognized as the man of the hour."

However, such a characterization would give too small a glimpse of the year's work of the man, of which the following pages want to give a modest account. Here, a cross-section of the journalistic work of an entire year will be given, a year shaken by the pains of maturing decisions like no other before.

The approaching birth of a new epoch in German history brought with it such an expansion of journalistic activity that it is not possible this time to press all speeches and essays of the past twelve months into the narrow confines of this one book. A double-volume work would have been necessary to fully meet the obligations of the chronicler. Instead, all speeches not directly related to the war events had to be omitted, such as the farewell words for the departed Reich Sports Leader or for the SA Chief of Staff, who was taken from life by a tragic accident.

Other speeches, held annually, were shortened to their essential core or also omitted, such as the address for the opening of the War Winter Relief Organization. Even among the weekly articles published in "Reich" or "Völkischer Beobachter," some had to be left out due to the fixed scope of this volume, which dealt with pressing questions of the day but did not address the fundamentals of our war conduct. A later compilation of the collected written work may remain to provide this comprehensive overview. Only by tightening the material was it possible to give at least a complete overview of the events of the past year, a mirror of the times with its stormy ups and downs, its feverish chills, and crises. None of the articles gathered in this volume has been changed afterward by a single line or syllable.

One must repeatedly try to understand what it means that Dr. Goebbels, alone among those responsible for the war conduct of their countries in a significant area, has been taking up the pen week after week into the fifth year of the war to not only proclaim his theses before the German people but before the forum of world public opinion, to take a stand on this or that question moving the nation or often the world opinion, to distill the essentials from the tangle and confusion of daily events, and to point the way from the tumultuous and chaotic events of today into the tomorrow.

It is no wonder that this journalistic work gave the newly founded weekly magazine "Das Reich" during the war the highest circulation within a short time and made it the most widely read weekly magazine of its kind on the entire globe. Thus, the journalistic work of Dr. Goebbels also increased the circulation of "Angriff" from initially only two thousand copies to many hundreds of thousands between 1927 and 1932.

Sometimes even today, Dr. Goebbels takes a stand on the problems of the day in the "Völkischer Beobachter" instead of in the "Reich." The topics he usually deals with in the weekly magazine almost always have significance beyond the current occasion. But in the storms raging over our continent, sometimes new situations can arise in a flash that need to be addressed, clarified, and brought to light as quickly as possible, not just in a few days when the next issue of the weekly magazine appears. In such cases, the daily newspaper replaces the more sedate sister.

Once this year, it happened that the weekly leading article in "Reich," now taken for granted, had to be missed. That was after the betrayal of Badoglio and his king in Italy. Dr. Goebbels himself later explained in detail in the article "The Model Case" why in some situations silence becomes an imperative necessity, even if the public is eagerly waiting for a word of clarification.

If there had been any doubt about how much and to what extent the weekly articles in "Reich" have become an indispensable part of public opinion formation not only in Germany but worldwide, it was clearly dispelled during this period of silence. Countless letters came from all walks of life, which for years had become accustomed to finding encouragement and direction in these articles or their reading on the radio, seeing them as a kind of regular open discussion and dialogue. As if habituation had given a vested right to the articles, accusatory protests came from home and the front.

Abroad, however, there was a special guessing game about the reason for the absence of the eagerly awaited article. Clever combinations were made until the quietly created facts in the meantime gave the whole world an unmistakable answer.

The effect triggered by the regularly recurring articles is also reflected in a flood of letters that take a stand on this or that topic or express

themselves more generally. The echo from the front remains particularly strong, and letters from soldiers show how the weekly leading articles have become a bridge between them and home. The articles always strengthen the men at the front with the feeling that home is not alien to them, that their sacrifice and commitment are worthwhile. A captain and battery chief stationed in the east describes the effect of the essays on his soldiers in a letter to Dr. Goebbels as follows:

"Again and again, the men of my battery, deployed on the Eastern Front for two years, listen to the reading of your weekly essay every Friday evening as service permits. We can hardly express the strengthening that comes from your words each time. Where we see the non-essential, detrimental to us, too significantly, you teach us – without ignoring it – to properly appreciate the always abundant but easily taken for granted advantages of our situation. Therefore, we do not want to miss your articles during this war and ask you not to be deterred from giving them to the people. Your word and your confident thoughts are part of the leadership of the war. As much as we already thought earlier that your articles represent the inner face of this war – and they will remain as the most important document of this war alongside the Wehrmacht reports – we now recognize that the more critical the times and the longer the war lasts, next to the word of the Führer, your word shapes the attitude of the German people at home and at the front and thus influences the conduct of the war and determines victory. We admire the strength that comes from your heart and thoughts and ask you not to withhold it from the people in any further week of war."

A letter from a foreigner in a neutral state calls these weekly articles "guideposts for all Europeans."

How much they are indeed guideposts, how much they point beyond the day into the future, is evidenced by the fact that the article that gave the present volume its name and direction is not found in this book itself but as the closing piece in last year's collection of essays, "The Iron Heart." What Dr. Goebbels wrote back then over a year ago encompasses everything that happened in the following twelve months:

"In this war, it is about our lives. We all know that. Whoever should not know it yet is repeatedly pointed out by the British-American revenge fanatics. Before us lies a steep ascent. But we believe that it can be conquered

more by a people trained in the hardships of mountain climbing through years of hard practice than by a people who have only learned to climb mountains on the plains. We have no reason to deceive ourselves or the world. We are fully aware of our task and our chances. We know what we want. But what is even more important: We also want what we know."

This is the disillusioned, sober, never beautifying, and therefore crisis-resistant way of thinking that Dr. Goebbels has always cultivated, but which never loses the clear view of all those opportunities and possibilities still contained even in a situation that initially seems hopeless to the layman. Nothing is glossed over, and the difficulty of the task is never denied; with unyielding will, those who may sometimes become discouraged are always shown the way that leads to the goal:

"We know that the ascent is stony and difficult; but no one should doubt that it must be conquered, because otherwise everything would be in vain and everything lost."

Anyone who reads these speeches and essays may be uplifted by their noble language; may find clarification on many questions that move them in the crystal-clear precision of the formulation; may let a year, shaken by feverish chills, pass before their mind's eye once again in the mirror of this collection. They may convince themselves now, in retrospect, that at no moment did the course of events slip from the leadership's hands, that it rather always held the reins firmly and reliably forecast further developments. They may further take from them how deeply rooted the leadership is in the people at all times, how it draws its strength from the people, and how it shares every fate inseparably with them.

Perhaps one or the other will also want to know how these articles are created. It will seem incomprehensible to them that they are born from an ordinary working day, which in precise division comprises 14 to 16 and often even more hours daily, weekdays and Sundays, and they will hardly understand how they take shape in the precision of their formulations, the vivid plasticity of their images, the cool certainty of their judgment, and the clear beauty of their language at a pace before which any average stenographer would have to give up after just a few sentences.

However, the reader should be aware of the long process of becoming and maturing that also precedes the act of shaping here. How many sleepless and troubled nights, how many hours of constantly re-fought self-assertion, how many tests had to be endured by everyone truly in a leading position in this war.

The heart that gave blood and life to these articles and speeches beats the same pulse as that of the people. It always draws its best strength from the broad masses; it is inseparably connected to them through countless channels.

The impulses it takes from the people, it then pours back into the masses multiplied. In truth, it is an engine that drives the best forces, namely the belief in Germany's future and the will to German victory.

M.A.v. Schirmeister

What is at Stake

September 27, 1942

There will hardly be anyone in the warring countries who has not already openly or secretly imagined the state in which their people, our continent, and the world will be after the end of this war. For most, this construct is more the result of imagination or an indefinable wishful thinking than of a sober and considered realism built on facts. It is the privilege of those who do not bear responsibility to imagine the world and life as they suit their personal needs. It is different for those in power. They must represent the interests of their people as a whole, not only for the present but, more importantly, for the future. They must therefore subject their wishes and actions to special standards, considering the various conditions of the lives of their nations as well as those of the nations within their spheres of interest. The deeper meaning of war is to rearrange the existential foundations of peoples. All its actions must be directed toward this meaning if it is not to lose its starting point and goal.

One cannot accuse the German leadership of ever violating this principle during this war. It has imposed the greatest restraint on itself in proclaiming far-reaching theoretical war aims and has always limited itself to defining its intentions as fighting for the freedom, independence, and necessary living and movement space of its people. Most of its war actions have been directly imposed on it. Its offensives always originated from a defensive national will to defend, and after the enemy's defeat, it distinguished itself by a moderate limitation of its demands, which were exclusively directed toward the purely practical and immediately necessary.

This also explains why Germany has conducted and is conducting the war without any sense of revenge. Overzealous fanatics have never had a voice among us. The war was and is too serious a matter for us to entrust it to the hands of hotheads. No one can prove that we ever proclaimed the dissolution, destruction, or economic or physical liquidation of a people defeated by our weapons as a war aim. And although the heaviest war in our history was primarily imposed on us by the French alongside the English, and we still had some scores to settle with our western neighbor since Versailles,

our conduct at the second Compiegne was so moderate that it represented roughly the opposite of what friend and foe had expected from us.

The reasons for this are obvious. Quite apart from the fact that any other approach would hardly have corresponded to our national character, we also feel a certain responsibility for a coming peace even in wartime. We never forget that the European peoples must live next to each other again even after this drama, albeit in a complete reorganization of their interests.

War is not the norm but the abnormal. The less it is allowed to slip into the sphere of pure resentment, the clearer and more transparent its course will be. Rage and revenge are usually poor advisers. One can hate without being deceived by hatred. Whoever loses their nerve in the polemics about war almost always puts themselves in the wrong. Herein lies the circumstance that our Anglo-Saxon opponents are reproached not only by us but by the entire civilized world.

There can be debate over whether the English and Americans, along with their Jewish instigators, are compelled for domestic political reasons to demask their secret intentions against us so openly; that they inflict the greatest harm on themselves in the world and especially regarding our own people and the propaganda tendencies pursued towards it hardly needs emphasizing. It is possible that the English and Americans, in light of their eternal military defeats, occasionally need outbursts of rage and revenge as a kind of psychological compensation. However, no one will dare to doubt that they are thereby carrying out a mental self-exposure that can only be welcomed by us.

A few months ago, the British public was intensely occupied with the well-known thesis of the notorious Lord Vansittart, which suggested that Germany had been treated too mildly at Versailles and must be completely subdued after this war. In London, people argued vehemently about whether it was appropriate to discuss such a doctrine publicly in front of the listening German people, whom they hoped to sway to leniency through infamous deceptive propaganda. No one thought to point out that this discussion, at least at the moment and considering the propaganda intentions pursued towards the German people, was at least inappropriate. They did not argue about Vansittart's doctrine itself, but only about whether, how, and when it should be publicly discussed. Where has one ever observed a similar process with us? In our debate about the war, it was always only about the essential.

We always presented only what was appropriate and necessary, never sliding into the overheated atmosphere of pure revenge politics.

A few days ago, the official English Reuters bureau, in an overseas cable, expressed the opinion of an émigré newspaper maintained by the British government that all German children aged two to six should be taken from their mothers and sent abroad for 25 years. This method, it was said, would make the Germans forget their nationality. A mixture of peoples would emerge that could no longer be described as German. If the Reuters bureau had not officially transmitted this madness, one could at least assume in favor of the British government that this was a departure of an irresponsible person, although indefensible.

Given the circumstances described here, this is no longer possible. Rather, it is the case that a newspaper under the supervision of the British government has expressed what the other side actually thinks and intends in an unguarded moment. We should not counter that things are never as bad as they are cooked up to be. What our enemies are capable of, the German people experienced at Versailles. Even the last German's blood froze in their veins when they learned what had become of Wilson's world-saving phrases in the so-called peace.

We are firmly convinced that the English and Americans, and especially their Jewish backers, would have the same in grotesque exaggeration in store for us if they managed to deceive us once again. If German propaganda had achieved nothing else during the war than to make this clear to the entire German people, it would have earned a historical merit for this alone. It may be that there is still one or another fool among us who, precisely because he is so foolish, considers himself particularly clever and sees in such British utterances only the product of an overheated war imagination. We must admit that we lack the courage for such naivety. It is enough for us that our people fell for it once. No German desires a repeat of this gruesome debacle. We trust German weapons more than British promises. We believe that Lord Vansittart, and not Mr. Churchill, speaks the truth. We consider the Atlantic Charter and not the aforementioned Reuters cable an English side step. In any case, we do not want to experience the German people letting it come to that again. We are convinced that would be our end.

Although we know very well that the English will never be in a position to live out their fantasies of revenge against us, we still consider it our national duty to at least make our people aware of such intentions. It is good to know not only what to expect in victory but also what to expect in the event of a possible defeat. That does not make one cowardly but courageous. In any case, we can only be grateful to those British circles who so openly and unadornedly reveal their intentions to us. They save us a good deal of work. We no longer need to evoke the events at the end of the World War; the English are kind enough to frankly and freely inform us of what they would have in store for us this time if they, once again, through a historical German folly, achieved victory against all expectations.

When this war began, we were clear about what was at stake now. Just as in the struggle for power, we have burned all bridges behind us and only look forward, never back. When a people fight for their national life and future, they must be prepared to throw everything they are and possess into the scales of decision. That may sound harsh, but even harsher is the word "too late" when the opportunity has been missed. It is possible that people without a sense of history consider our generation cursed by fate; we consider it blessed because it stands before the possibility of opening the gate to a greater national future for our people and thus paving the way for a more generous shaping of our historical life. That costs sweat, effort, and blood. But where is success and victory without these?

We are now in the fourth year of the war. Its dimensions have expanded in an unimaginable extent. But with that, its prospects and possibilities have also grown. It has treated our people harshly and relentlessly, granting nothing. More than ever, we are today encircled by the iron grip of its daily growing duties, and only the most callous minds still muster the courage to evade them. We have become a community in the truest sense of the word. We know exactly where our chance lies; we only need to learn where our danger lies. We have the strength to overcome it in every situation, even in every crisis if we only want to use this strength. The more radically we face the demands of the war, the sooner we will be able to deal with it. We are dealing with an opponent who will spare no means to defeat us. Therefore, we must also leave no strength unused to defend ourselves. What do we have to lose if everything is at stake anyway? Peoples are strongest when they are fighting for their lives. That is the case with us today.

We do not take occasional outbursts of British-Jewish revenge fantasy too tragically and do not dramatize them more than they deserve. In the course of the past 20 years, we National Socialists have been predicted and wished the most dreadful end by our enemies so often that we are completely immune to it. We see in such outbursts not only the expression of rage and thirst for revenge but also of impotence. We have always recognized our opponents in time. But perhaps there is one or another in our people who, in an unguarded moment, might be inclined to take their world-saving phrases more seriously than their Old Testament outbursts of hatred. They are brought back to order by reports like the aforementioned Reuters cable. The enemy itself makes it clear to them that war is the most unsuitable time to indulge in insipid sentimentalities.

Justice in the life of a people is always only the result of power. Weapons are the best guarantee against violation. A leadership should entrust the fate of a nation solely to its own strength. We have sinned against this unalterable principle too often in the past to desire a repetition. Our mothers will now know what their sons are fighting for, and our women what their men are fighting for out there. Every worker and every farmer is clearer than ever about why they swing the hammer and guide the plow through the soil. Millions of children look up to us. The enemy sees our future in them and wants to destroy it.

So let us get to work! From the mouth of the enemy, we have heard what is at stake.

The New Europe

October 4, 1942

Our opponents have no clear idea of a new Europe that must be built after the war. They probably would not deal with this problem at all if it had not been forced upon them by us, so to speak. The British, as an insular people, are fundamentally foreign to Europe, if not hostile to it, and view our continent approximately the same way they do Africa or Australia. The Russians, in their entire perspective, lean more towards the East than the West, and the Americans see the current conflict mainly as a hemispheric confrontation, not one of continents. None of these three great powers has ever made a significant contribution to the development or life of our continent; on the contrary, they always saw in its bloody divisions one of the most important prerequisites for their own well-being. Therefore, their entire policy for centuries aimed to internally divide Europe, at least to prevent it from achieving continental order and political consolidation. The unfortunate state of affairs on our continent greatly facilitated this endeavor. Envy, discord, short-sightedness, and narrow thinking of the European peoples and their governments were the cause of their lack of a sense of community, which they had to pay for with countless severe and bloody wars.

As long as the other continents exhibited the same or similar internal problems, this was regrettable but not life-threatening. This changed in almost the first half of the 20th century. The peoples outside our continent began to think geopolitically. They increasingly united into large economic, linguistic, and cultural entities and are on the verge of concentrating their forces, to which we have nothing even remotely comparable to counter. Our continent is indeed old and rich in history and tradition; its creative unrest, with its partly most fruitful tensions, cannot be imagined away from human life. But in terms of its political goal-orientedness, it is helplessly inferior to its continental competitors. Europe will perish from its traditional advantages if it does not find a way out of this dilemma. Our internal contradictions rob us of the vitality needed for political and economic spatial organization, which would allow us to successfully assert ourselves in the coming century.

Not that we want to deny other continents their cooperation. On the contrary, we see this as a prerequisite for a clear and precise distinction of the continental essences and a fair balancing of mutual interests. There is hardly a people in Europe that has not contributed valuable elements to the development and history of our continent. As much as one may respect this fact individually, it is equally clear that a coordination of the national-political efforts of the individual European states can only take place if a group of powers assumes leadership. The experience of the past since the end of the First World War and historical experience as a whole show that a coalition of peoples for the purpose of unified representation of common interests can only be achieved through a leadership claim fought for and recognized by all.

It may be regrettable, but it is true that only war accomplishes the softening of hardening and encrustations, which is the prerequisite for the formation of new national-political communities.

In our case, at least, there can be no talk of coercion. The coming new Europe will be a structure that will offer its participants and beneficiaries decidedly more advantages than disadvantages. With relatively minor concessions to the new order, the peoples and states involved acquire economic, social, and societal security, which they otherwise could not claim in the heavy storms of the still impending time of great upheavals. Almost every war of historically decisive importance has brought not only new power and interest shifts but also always replaced one social stratum with another. This fact often gives it a melancholic character for the living generation, inclined to believe that with this stratum, a culture also perishes. But this is not the case. Only an era is coming to an end, and where it retreats, it makes way for a younger one. This is the course of the world and, ultimately, the deeper meaning of historical development.

Those who are most unsuitable to objectively judge such a process are those who are being replaced by it along with their social stratum. The cliques of emigrants from European states, who fled to London when their countries, almost exclusively through their own fault, were endangered, to perform more or less well-paid incitement services for the British government in its anti-European endeavors, are the worst advocates for the interests of their peoples. They belong to that stratum that has become superfluous, which stands in the way of the reformation of our continent,

which fled danger because it was too tired and worn out to fight, and now sees no other way out of the dilemma than a stupid return to that state which invoked today's catastrophe and would always invoke it again if restored.

This is also why this despicable band of cowardly ignoramuses, parasitic do-nothings, and monarchical history extras in London enjoys such careful nurturing and generous support. England hopes to reestablish with them that Europe which it likes, which obeys its nod, which has no continental will of its own, and can be dissolved into its components at will and thereby rendered politically and militarily impotent. The supporters of these defectors on the continent do not know what they are doing. If what they envisage as a goal were achieved, Europe would face a century that one would gladly swap for hell. It is only comforting to know that this Europe, as imagined across the Channel, is a sandbox Europe. It will surely continue to vegetate in the embryonic state when the new, generous continental order we are striving for has long since become a reality.

One can understand that some small states on the continent face such a development with some mistrust. They suspect that they are being forced into something they do not yet know precisely in its details and therefore cannot judge in its advantages and disadvantages. They point to the example of other small states that were militarily neutralized by the German Wehrmacht in the course of the war.

Apparently, they confuse cause and effect. These small states were not neutralized militarily because they showed no inclination to fit into the emerging new order of Europe, but because they provoked the German war effort and thus posed an acute danger to our victory. There are other small states that also do not miss an opportunity to express similar aversion to the new European order, but nothing has happened or happens to them, precisely because they, due to their military insignificance or the purely literary nature of their stance against us, do not stand in the way of our coming victory. It is one thing to face the new Europe with incomprehension — this mostly arises from a lack of political intelligence — and it is another to stab the Axis powers, fighting for their lives, in the back — this is usually a consequence of a completely false assessment of military power and possibilities.

Certain neutral journalists face the reorganization of our continent initiated by us as if they want to be tickled but do not want to laugh. They

believe they are showing us a miraculous graciousness by discussing this topic with us at all. They try to swap roles in a way that can only seem ridiculous to the attentive observer. We have already emphasized that the new Europe represents progress, not regression. Those who want to participate in all its advantages must also participate in the associated sacrifices and burdens; and if grace is to be spoken of here, it will be an act of grace to be allowed to join, rather than to come. The Axis powers are paying a heavy blood toll for the consolidation and final pacification of our continent. It would be more than unjust if we cleared the way through the thicket of prejudices with tanks and the others, having only shown signs of reluctance, rejection, and doubt during this hard and arduous work, followed at the end on the finished road with a comfortable Rolls Royce.

It is a gross mistake to assume that we want to curry favor with anyone. Far from it! We have every reason to expect that the new Europe we are preparing for in combat with our allies will be sufficient to grant us and those who fought and suffered at our side a wide and fertile basis for national life. Perhaps others will need us more than we need them. One should not judge this question by the current war circumstances. That more meat and fat is eaten in the capitals of neutral states than in Berlin or Rome today is by no means proof that this will still be the case in ten years. To become rich, one must have the courage to endure poverty and need for a time; but this pays off later.

We cannot recall ever having made coercive demands of a European small state that deemed it right to maintain its neutrality. We only intervene when the state in question violates its neutrality and sides with our enemies. This is our national duty but also our national right. England would do the same in the reverse case and has already done so on several occasions, even when the reverse case did not even apply. In certain capitals of the continent, this is not understood. They believe they can maintain a neutral stance that seeks to preserve only the appearance of neutrality while otherwise indulging in more than frivolous frivolity and political recklessness towards the existential struggle of the Axis powers for the life of their peoples and their continent. One should not believe that in view of such a procedure we would appear there to make coercive demands in the sense of a new Europe. In such cases, we only appeal to common sense and think it would be good if people in the mentioned capitals were more wise and prudent rather than hotheaded and prejudiced.

Our continent will only find its new form in struggle. The German infantryman in Stalingrad makes a more valuable contribution to this than the editorial writer in Stockholm and Zurich. Here, too, the deed, not the word, comes first.

For simplicity's sake, we anticipate that even this time, we will probably be thoroughly misunderstood in the mentioned capitals. We refuse to attribute this to our incorrect and vague presentation. They understand us very well there; but unfortunately, they do not want to understand us.

The journalistic leaders of the opposing viewpoint are not dumb; they just have a guilty conscience.

German Literature in the Noise of Weapons

Speech at the German Poets' Meeting in Weimar

October 11, 1942

When I speak today within the framework of the German Poets' Meeting and the working conference of the European Writers' Association in Weimar, the city of our poet princes, I take the welcome opportunity to address the intellectual Germany of today with some fundamental remarks. It is in the nature of war, especially when it takes on such a vast scale as the current one, that it brings about more than a normally tolerable objectification of all public work. It takes up the time and energy of a people so fully that not much is left for the nuances in the relationships between people. We all live today in an unprecedented state of physical, mental, and intellectual tension. Many of us would not have thought it possible earlier to endure such physical and psychological strain for an extended period. And yet it is necessary and therefore also possible.

It would be entirely wrong to see in this gigantic national effort only a physical achievement of our people. Equally strong, if not stronger, especially during the longer duration of the war, are the intellectual and mental achievements of the people. They have taken on a measure and extent that can only be sustained with the utmost exertion of all forces. As important as the purely material potential of a people is and will remain for the successful and victorious continuation of the war, the moral forces that accompany this material effort and provide it with a sustainable foundation must be equally highly valued. The intellectual struggle for a restructuring of our national life and thus for the meaningful order of a continent otherwise in danger of sinking into chaos is therefore not only of crucial importance; it also gives the armed struggle a real background and a moral profile. The war would become unbearable in the long run if it were not based on a higher purpose that gives the bloody craft its deeper meaning.

There is no need to elaborate on the significant contribution of our workers and farmers to the successful conduct of the war. Without their tireless and sacrificial effort, the armed struggle would undoubtedly soon face the most terrible dilemma. However, we all make less clear to ourselves the burden of effort, concern, and responsibility that the intellectual worker also bears in this fateful war of our people. The achievements of intellectual creation are harder to capture statistically than those of material work. And yet they are effective, to an extent that would only become fully conscious to us if they were to falter or shrink. It has often been said that the German people are not only defending their living space but also their centuries-old culture. Besides our purely material existence, it is the target of our opponents' attacks, as they rightly recognize in it the true root of our steadfastness and indestructible national vitality.

The immense economic and social rise of the Reich since 1933 had its intellectual causes. It originated from a spiritual transformation of the German people, its feelings and thoughts, based on a worldview, which directed it into a path that allowed for this unprecedented unfolding of our national power. Only a shortsighted observer can overlook these connections. It would be more than foolish to see in the National Socialist takeover merely a change of government. There has been a systemic and ideological shift here, which our enemies have made the object of their nefarious attacks because it inevitably led to that concentration of our national power that was the source and cause of our national rebirth.

One can turn things as one likes, but one cannot avoid the realization that every true revolution must prove itself if it is to assert itself in a world of opposition. Only then does it gain the freedom of its full development. Either it gives itself up in the face of the hostile world surrounding it, or it defends its view and thus its doctrine in battle. Therefore, we stand in this war not only for our material but also for our intellectual existence. This is what is primarily meant when our enemies indulge in bloodthirsty and vengeful fantasies against us; their attack is directed at it because they know exactly that here lies the real root of our ever-renewing national strength. Our time can be compared to a birth act, surrounded by the greatest danger in the moment of new life's creation. Its pains are the harbingers of its bliss. In the stage between life and death, an era proves its vitality. If it fails here, it has lost its moral justification.

It may seem bitter to those who cannot relate to this time to have to participate in its burdens for a lifetime. That does not change the fact that they are obligated to it. Fate does not ask much about the willingness of the individual to serve it. Once called, it follows the prescribed path and will only come to a standstill when it has reached its goal. Those who surrender to it are its favored ones. They feel not only its oppressive burden but also its joy and seek their highest reward in shaping a time that is as much our product as we are its products. We are children of this time, but it is also our child. Formed in spirit, it takes shape under our impulses year after year, step by step. Without us, it would not be as it is, just as we would not be as we are without it.

I take the opportunity in this context to correct a widespread misconception, which apparently stems from a confusion of terms but nevertheless seems capable of unnecessarily alarming certain parts of our national intelligence and even discouraging them from unreservedly participating in the construction work of our time. It is customary in National Socialist propaganda to scrutinize a certain type of intellectualism sharply and occasionally subject it to biting public criticism, which often affects honorable and well-meaning contemporaries who are not meant. It would be absurd to make the national intelligence, to which we count ourselves, the object of public ridicule, as it has the same importance today as ever and to which the Reich owes its achievements in inventions, groundbreaking scientific pioneering work, and constructive research activities, especially now in the war. Who would suspect us of wanting to direct public displeasure precisely at this indispensable factor of our state and national life? The great scientists of our time may have found their way to us only slowly, primarily because they were too deeply involved in their specialized work and therefore found it difficult to take a broader view. However, it would insult their intelligence to assume that they view the fateful struggle of our people, carried by National Socialism, with any reservation.

Something quite different is meant here. By intellectualism, we mean a kind of semi-education that knows too much to believe instinctively and too little to believe out of understanding. It has not reached that inner harmony of intellectual work, which expresses its essence by bringing knowledge and character into meaningful alignment. One may know little and yet find strength in faith and trust. His weapon is instinct. One may know much and build on understanding. Only those who stand in between, whose

half-knowledge takes away instinct and whose lack of knowledge withholds understanding, are prevented by an inner burden from trusting in the time with faith and serving its tasks; but their intellectuality is not sufficient to educate their character in it and thus make it unassailable.

It would be a national misfortune for our people if this type of person infected public opinion with their constant doubts. They are infertile in thinking and therefore sterile in action. One can hardly imagine a worse aberration of the human spirit. It must be unmasked and subjected to public contempt. The more one distances oneself from it, the more clearly one must distinguish it from the intellectual work that serves its people in serious creation and faithful struggle with the stubborn material of research or that pays its tribute to national life in years of self-sacrificing effort, spent in countless burdens of troubled days and sleepless nights, in icy loneliness, in eternal struggle with gnawing doubts and tormenting inner challenges. We also take off our hats to them. They deserve the admiring respect of a people whose life and future are dedicated to their creative work.

The milestones of the road of human development have been set by them. Our modern culture and civilization are results of their silent intellectual heroism, which manifests itself more in achievements than in words. In spirit, I see before me the endless army of German researchers, scholars, artists, poets, painters, and builders, a long procession of German creators in tone and stone and marble, the geniuses of a nation's good and noble life, who find their perpetuation only in their creations. They have kindled the sun over our heads. As medical researchers, they have freed modern humanity from the scourges of medieval diseases such as plague and cholera. They ventured into undiscovered parts of the world not to take but to bring. Where would humanity be today if one tried to imagine life without the achievements of German research? It is a deep and heartfelt need for me on this day in the middle of the war, which we can only endure victoriously thanks to the mastery of modern technology, which is again the result of our science, to bow with our entire people reverently and gratefully before the eternally seeking spirit of German research, which, where it is genuine, always seeks and finds its way from the solitude of the laboratory and study room to the community of the people.

Where else but here would the poet and writer have their place? The National Socialist state has assigned them a function far beyond their former

purely individualistic purposeful work. I myself have written too much in my life not to know how hard one has to pay for this most beautiful and fulfilling of all human passions. Style is something that cannot be learned. One has style, or one does not. It is not only a matter of writing but also of living. Only snobs write for the sake of writing. The true writer, and the poet is the highest among writers, writes to serve a purpose. He has only contempt for purely aesthetic art that seeks art alone. The writer is the intellectual pioneer of his time. Anyone who lives beside or behind his time loses the moral right to speak to his time. The

intellectual language of a time lies unspoken in its fluid and atmosphere. The poet's task is to make this fluid and atmosphere tangible. His work is that of a spiritual condensation; hence his name. Nothing is more gratifying for contemporaries than to experience in a person of their generation how he puts into words what everyone feels and senses in dull perplexity. He strikes like a dowsing rod the most hidden sources of a people's soul.

Contemporary German literature has become an active force in our people. Since the seizure of power and the elimination of Jewish-Bolshevik decadent literature, it has found enough space for free development. Our poets have created numerous valuable works year after year from inner proximity to the people and artistic responsibility, in which our people find themselves and to which they repeatedly return in moments of reflection and deepening.

This popular German literature is nourished from the best sources and is worthy of the valuable traditions of our literary history. However, it has so far found an immediate broad connection to the German present only in the field of lyrical creation. Our contemporary epic literature, on the other hand, timidly approaches contemporary subjects and motifs only in individual books. We fully understand the restraint shown in this fact. The greater a time is, the more powerful its tasks seize and fulfill its contemporaries, the more difficult it is for the artistic person to order, clarify, and put into words the excess of experiences. This is especially true for the years since the seizure of power, in which the German leadership, at a breathtaking pace, has strung together decisions of peace and war of world-historical significance, and our people now stand in a gigantic struggle for their future. It requires great courage and a high sense of responsibility for an

artist to tackle the historical subjects of our days. This is especially true for literature dealing with the war experience and events of today.

If the poet wants to represent the subjects of this war in words, he will have to be decisively influenced by the new National Socialist soldier type shaped by the Führer and National Socialism, by his attitude and achievements. The artistic means he uses must necessarily be adapted to this subject and be modern in the true sense. With an overrefined psychology and dissecting soul-drawing, as was common yesterday, it will never be possible to capture the life-affirming, reality-connected German soldier of today in a poetic image. Such efforts only result in distorted images that are not appropriate to the greatness and sacrifices of the time and therefore never convey to contemporaries the essence of our eternal soldierhood. Here, the greatest responsibility and reverence for our people in their highest achievement are required. The chosen ones will take on this most difficult task of their artistry all the more, as a considerable number of valuable poems from the past year prove.

Besides, large groups of subjects from today's German reality, such as those of the city or the worker, have been treated extraordinarily stepmotherly in our literature. Yet, it is precisely in them that the most significant life processes of contemporary Germany take place. They also contain the greatest material and psychological incentives that should entice our poets to take on these tasks as well. Here, along with the will to participate in the time, responsibility and intellectual courage must be shown if it is to succeed in giving a picture of the entire people in our literature. The leadership of German literature strives to strengthen our poets' courage for the present. In the future, it will take even more care than before to ensure that the will to time in our literature is not paralyzed by narrow-mindedness, pettiness, and pedantry from outside and thus spoil the authors' joy in shaping our present.

Alongside literature that reveals the noblest values of a people's soul, entertaining literature has gained the greatest importance since the beginning of the war. Our people, who put their entire strength into the service of warfare in tireless daily work, need relaxation and relief after the day's burdens. This is provided by light, captivating literature that does not require great mental effort but unassumingly leads away from everyday life. Both content and language must be easily accessible to the broad masses of our

compatriots and soldiers, a fresh and progressive flow of action without lengthy interpretations and reflections should captivate the reader and draw him into the book's spell.

In the past, we had very unpleasant conditions in the field of entertaining literature. Therefore, our efforts in peacetime were initially aimed at pushing back the kitschy potboiler with its mendacious, unrealistic pseudo-romanticism. In its place should come a fresh and immediate book without exaggerations but with all the charms of a captivating story and simple character drawing in good language. Such an entertainment book can certainly have a poetic touch. In the narrative works of our classics, we find numerous examples where all the advantages of the best entertaining literature are combined with careful shaping of the action and language. These are precisely the stories that have been in demand again and again by the Wehrmacht and the people at home since the war began. A growing number of contemporary German poets have recently turned to this task with great success. However, some of them still hold the view that writing books of a lighter and more relaxing nature is beneath their dignity and beyond their task.

To this, it must be said that in the National Socialist state, all tasks come from the people and every cultural achievement gains its dignity from the fact that the German people acknowledge it. The German poet must consider it an honor to give our people books in the future that embellish and fill the few hours of relaxation in a simple way, alongside the great works of pure literature. He must not leave this important area of cultural life to the dilettantes and incompetents who were largely responsible for the earlier unsatisfactory conditions. He is in the best company of leading names in our literary history when working on this task.

A few weeks ago, I announced a large competition to promote good entertaining books. I especially call on our poets to participate in this competition. They are primarily called upon to replace the partially still existing bad literature with better and to give our people the healthy literary fare urgently needed today.

We have continued the planned order introduced last year in the field of political literature and war reportage. Significant books of partly lasting rank have portrayed the forces that have risen for the final battle

against the Führer's Reich: Judaism, Bolshevism, plutocracy, and Americanism. A literature that explains the course of major politics to our people on a factual basis and in a simple summary still plays its important role in periodicals. However, in the past, too much has been done in the field of producing mediocre brochures and third-hand accounts. It has been ensured that in the future only works that represent real achievements and can count on the interest of a broad public will be published. In the field of books about war experiences on all fronts, we have ensured that only the best representations appear and that this literature as a whole is commensurate with the tremendous achievements of the German soldier. Regarding this production, we can happily note that the past year has also brought a large number of excellent and captivating reportage books about the war.

Since the beginning of the war, German literature has entered into an even closer connection with the immediate life of our people. Under the influence of the war, the questions have undoubtedly become more difficult, diverse, and complicated. However, I am confident that all current issues will also be mastered in the future through close cooperation between literary leadership and literary creators.

In the meantime, the entire strength of the nation is gathering towards victory. In its service, our literature has remembered its true task and conveyed to the German people the knowledge and mental strength it needs to tackle the great tasks of the time. Our soldiers have reported in countless field post letters about the faith that has been strengthened in them through German books. Our workers, even after the most strenuous work in the service of armament, reach for the German book, as it is primarily provided to them by the public and works libraries. In the newly won territories, the German book makes its entry shortly after the weapons as a herald of the spirit of the reborn Reich. All those involved in book production, from the author to the publisher and bookseller to the typesetter and bookbinding apprentice, can be proud of this at this hour. Through their joint effort, they testify to the will to live and the right to live of the entire German people, which documents itself in its cultural achievement and thus gives us the inner certainty of victory more than anything else.

I come to the conclusion. Rarely have I felt as strongly as today, at the threshold of the fourth year of the war, the need to confess to intellectual work in the midst of the noise of weapons. I do not know what I owe it to

personally, especially in the past three years. How often does one reach for a book in the late-night hours after a day filled with work and worry, the most faithful companion through a difficult time! It always gives a spiritually creative person, who is in danger of being fragmented in the eternal struggle of everyday life, the strength to look beyond the difficulties of a tension-filled time to the eternal stars! They move above us humans. They speak to us in a silent language of crystal clarity. Only the person who repeatedly reaches for them in their work and poetry, even in often fruitless efforts, will continue to live on in the memory of their people.

Just as they obey their law and only follow the path prescribed to them, so we also carry our law within us and follow the prescription set by the great time. May law and prescription, which are fate and vocation for us, determine our thinking, poetry, and action. Then the word will be a weapon in the spiritual struggle of our century, and the book a sword that cuts through the fog that still lies over our epoch.

This is my wish and request to all intellectual workers in the Reich when I offer them the greetings and thanks of the entire nation from the German Poets' Meeting in the fourth year of our great war in 1942 on the soil of classical

Weimar. We bow in reverence and love before the Führer, who has given our historical time its purpose and content. Our warmest wishes go to the gigantic struggle he is fighting with his soldiers side by side with our allies for the future of our country and thus our continent. From here, a new epoch in human history shall begin. Who would not be happy to be involved and to give the forces of their spirit and work to the great cause?

The Steadfastness of Hearts

October 11, 1942

If one were to believe English newspapers and radio stations even halfway, one would have to conclude that Germany currently looks like a madhouse. There is no leading statesman or general who, in the past three weeks, has not been declared dead, shot, poisoned, fallen from the sky, arrested, exiled, stricken with an incurable disease, or seriously wounded by the London press. These stupid and absurd lies are presented on English radio with such confidence that there is no room for doubt. The London pseudo-propagandists are not at all embarrassed by the fact that they contradict each other and thus cancel out their false reports themselves.

They say today the exact opposite of what they claimed yesterday without showing even a hint of embarrassment. Someone who was freshly liquidated yesterday reappears today to incite a mysterious palace revolution about which nothing precise can be reported at the moment, but which is dangerous precisely because it is so mysterious. Leading men, who can be seen almost daily in photos in the press, have been terminally ill in a lung sanatorium in Davos for weeks. Others are recklessly playing with pistols and shooting their colleagues in rows because these colleagues, in their foolishness, will not allow them to establish their own air force or police. The leadership watches this witch's sabbath-like activity with folded arms or, at best, reinstates those they liquidated yesterday into their positions today for the sake of peace. It is hard not to write satire about this.

The English are particularly targeting our generals. Instead of leading their troops at the front, they are seen strolling under the Linden trees in Berlin. A British informant meets one of our world-famous marshals, whom he recognizes from pictures, speaks to him confidentially, and receives equally confidential answers to his questions: where he is going, how long he will stay, whether he has been relieved of his post; to which the marshal responds with a loud and clear yes, then launches into a lengthy and salty critique of the Reich's general policies and war conduct before this completely unknown British informant. The two gentlemen, the German marshal and the English informant, then bid each other a jovial farewell,

indicating that they fully understood each other during this private conversation under the Linden trees in Berlin.

The same marshal is seen being greeted with a handshake by the Führer at the last Sportpalast rally, from which the London press shrewdly concludes that he has apparently not yet been received at the Reich Chancellery and thus is probably not being admitted, which in turn is proof that things are going badly for this marshal and his cause. Of course, he is only being portrayed by a double in the Sportpalast, while he is actually lying terminally ill in a malaria hospital. Meanwhile, National Socialist politicians are doing everything to make his name forgotten among his own people, or at least to deprive him of the popularity that, according to the English, he deserves. Otherwise, they would certainly have had pins with his likeness sold on the streets and in shops, as the Americans do for their General MacArthur, and since this has not happened, it is proof that something is not right here.

Such things can also rightly be suspected in many other respects. How bad the internal situation in the Reich is must be inferred from the fact that the government felt compelled to raise food rations. This, of course, did not happen because the food situation improved through the expansion of our territory; this claim is just an invention of the Propaganda Ministry. Instead, it happened because the German leadership fears the people. Where they get the supplies to increase the food rations does not concern the British propaganda strategists. They can expect the English reading public to believe quite a bit, and above all, it likes to believe what it wishes to be true.

We are often asked why we do not refute all these lies; it should be easy for us to catch the English in their frauds and expose them. Possible, but not expedient! Our Propaganda Ministry would gradually become a machine for refutations, which the English would undoubtedly like to see, and instead of representing the German standpoint before our own people and the world, it would constantly have to occupy itself with refuting British lies. This would, by the way, also be of no use; because the English, with their well-known practice of inventing lies, would immediately be able to come up with new forgeries if the old ones were dealt with. Should we refute these again tomorrow to deal with the English lies of tomorrow the day after? Where would we end up with this practice? For example, the English claim that a leading figure in our state and party life has died in a plane crash. He is seen

in a photo in the press the next day. The English immediately declare that the photo is old and forged and proves nothing. We refute it. The English say that from the fact that we refuted it, one can see that there must be something true about it, otherwise, we would not have refuted it. If they can no longer maintain their lie under the weight of our evidence, they put on their most brazen face and declare, naïvely and honestly, that there is no smoke without fire; the rumors cannot be denied, so they must be true.

We briefly touched on this entire English-Jewish rumor-mongering in our last speech at the Sportpalast. The very next morning, the Hebrew rabble in London triumphantly shouted that one could already conclude from our defense that the German people were deeply disturbed, which must be noted as a significant sign of the sinking German morale.

We have heard that there are still a few mentally backward people among us who, with a worried expression and a furrowed brow, continue to spread English lies in the form of questions. There is nothing so stupid that someone somewhere will not fall for it. One would actually have to assume that everyone has at least enough brains to distinguish an obvious British-Jewish fraud from probability, not to mention truth. Wrong! There are some among us who apparently have no brains at all. They are completely senile, having reached such a degree of stupidity that it is dangerous because the holder no longer notices it. One could partly pity, partly envy these rare specimens. They live in our dramatically eventful time, full of tasks, worries, risks, and dangers, without seeing any of it. They are like the harmless fool who sits with a fishing rod in front of an empty bathtub trying to catch fish. They fit the well-known Berlin saying: "You have it good. You are stupid!"

The Jews and the English speculate on these mentally deficient individuals. Whenever they are losing and have almost no prospect of escaping the approaching catastrophe, they appeal to the intellectual paupers; the more primitive and dumber, the better, following the method: "He who lies longest lies best!" They proceeded in exactly the same way shortly before our seizure of power. The National Socialist leadership had already degenerated into one big brawl. It will not be long before this happens again. One should not believe that our opponents have exhausted their repertoire. They still have quite a bit up their sleeves, and we can expect all sorts of things. We would also have every reason to view the development with concern if this were not the case. The fact that they lie, that they lie so

brazenly and boldly, but also so helplessly, is the best proof that they have no more facts to present. They are caught in their own net; we just need to slowly draw it in and then lift them out.

Moreover, the English propaganda dilettantes are mistaken if they believe we are annoyed by them and their loose pranks. They would probably blush despite their stubbornness if they knew how contemptuous and stupid we consider them. Certainly, we would prefer to have a fair opponent with whom we could engage in intellectual fencing day after day. But that is unfortunately not the case. We are condemned to deal with this intellectual rabble, and it often takes effort to respond to their stupidities at all. But getting annoyed is out of the question. We are used to quite a bit, and where the English and their little and big Jews send their poison arrows, we have long since developed a callus that is impenetrable. Just as you cannot kill a soldier with lies, you cannot kill a system or a people with lies. You cannot even hurt them with it. Such methods can at most change certain people's relationship to the facts for a while; but the facts themselves remain completely unchanged. Above all, they can only be changed in war by power, soldiers, and weapons. Those who possess enough of these will not need to resort to the methods used by the English. They will sensibly use the means with which wars have always been won and with which the present war will be won despite all contrary opinions of the English.

We are fully aware that British propagandists will also subject these statements to profound considerations and conclude that it is extraordinarily alarming that we felt compelled to deal with this question at all. On the other hand, if we did not, they would take our silence as an occasion to make the same profound considerations. What does that matter to us! What do the English matter to us at all! They are our enemies, and we do not talk with them but about or against them. Their opinion of us is completely indifferent to us. By the way, it cannot be as bad as our opinion of them. We have completely seen through them. We know exactly what they want and wish, and from that, we draw the simple conclusion that we must be cautious with them and not trust them. We expect from them every meanness as a precaution to avoid disappointment, and therefore we are as suspicious as possible, not only of what they do but also of what they say. They will not take us for fools!

Furthermore, they have often and openly enough revealed their war objectives to us. So we simply assume that they do nothing and say nothing that does not serve these goals. Therefore, let everyone arm themselves with caution and suspicion. Anyone who parrots what the English tell them is no friend of their people. They make not only themselves but also their neighbor's heart heavy. This must not be, for in these hard times, we need all our strong hearts.

Therefore, let everyone arm themselves with caution and suspicion. Anyone who parrots what the English tell them is no friend of their people. They make not only themselves but also their neighbor's heart heavy. This must not be, for in these hard times, we need all our strong hearts.

Whoever lets themselves be caught by British-Jewish propaganda lies proves not only that they are a cowardly fool but also that they are an empty head. In war, it is the duty of everyone to listen only to their own leadership. Mistakes made in peacetime can always be corrected; mistakes made in wartime are mostly irreparable. This must be kept in mind at all times.

So we must keep our wits about us and always be on guard so that the enemy does not find us unprepared. They know our weaknesses better than we do. How could they not exploit them! Therefore, it is better to be cautious than outspoken and to check something ten times rather than fall for an enemy deception. The total war is fought on all fronts, including and especially on the front of the steadfastness of hearts. So, hold your hearts firm! When things get tough, it is they who will have the decisive say!

In conclusion, let me emphasize that the heart and soul of our people must remain strong and united. We must not be swayed by enemy lies and deceit. Our strength lies in our unity and our unwavering resolve to overcome the challenges before us. By staying vigilant and maintaining our resolve, we will ensure the success and future of our nation.

The total war will be won not only on the battlefield but also in the hearts and minds of our people. So, let us stand firm, support one another, and remain steadfast in our determination. Together, we will achieve victory and secure a future for our people and our nation.

The Blessing of the Earth

October 18, 1942

It is an old experience that those who complain the most are the ones who have the least reason to do so, while those who have real reasons to complain are so preoccupied with their worries that they hardly come to complain at all. This is especially evident in times of great tension, such as war. Rarely does one hear a front-line soldier complaining today, for example. He comes home on leave for a few short days from the hot sandfields of North Africa, from the green hell of the Volkhov, or from the infernal defensive battles of Rzhev. Everything at home appears new and unreal to him. That civilian life at least outwardly goes on almost normally, that the streets and houses are clean and well-kept, that trams and trains run, albeit with some restrictions, that cinemas, theaters, concert halls, and restaurants are open and crowded – all of this transports him from the front and its harsh life straight into a fairyland. He cannot imagine that anyone here has any reason to complain. What annoys, burdens, and oppresses civilians is a triviality unworthy of attention for the front-line soldier. Once again sleeping in a properly made bed, who would have thought or guessed that such a thing still existed? He feels life at home much more intensely than he ever did in peacetime. A new world opens up for him here. One can understand that the front-line soldier faces the comparatively minor burdens of home without much regret or openness. What does it mean to wait five minutes longer than usual for the tram, and it is overcrowded on top of that! In North Africa, there are no trams at all. There, one sometimes lies for days in a narrow foxhole, exposed unprotected to the blazing sun and tormented by swarms of flies. And at the Volkhov, one sees nothing but mire, swamp, thickets, and desolation for months on end and is never safe for a moment. Nobody here knows if he will still have his healthy limbs or even his eyesight tomorrow. When the post comes from home – we at home already complain if it is delayed by a day – it is mostly several weeks old and is still received and devoured with the greatest joy. It cannot be repeated often enough that we at home have no reason to complain at all, that we must deeply shame ourselves before our front-line soldiers if we go around hawking our small and insignificant everyday worries.

The human ability to endure suffering is also relative. It greatly depends on the specific sufferings imposed on him by fate. When it comes down to it, a person can cope with almost anything. He feels the strength of his sufferings always in proportion to his otherwise well-being. It can happen that someone feels more annoyed and beaten by a minor pain in normal life than by the loss of his house and all his possessions in the harsh life of war.

This is where the present time becomes particularly oppressive, as people view war as an exception and still try to retain as much of peacetime as possible. They defend the last memories of it like a cherished possession and lament its disappearance piece by piece. Those who have bid farewell to peace in time and adapted to war as long as it lasts are much better off. They are no longer thrown off by anything. They do not complain about what has been taken from them by the war but are grateful for what the war has left them, always ready to relinquish even that if necessary. They have metaphorically burned their bridges to peace behind them and are seeking a new path to it ahead. They know that the fact of war cannot be changed and that we all have no choice but to contribute to its victorious and hopefully swift end through battle and work.

In our close circle of colleagues and friends, several young men particularly dear to us have again been torn from us by relentless death on the battlefield in recent weeks, whose departure has deeply shaken us. It is painful and moving at the same time to realize what these mostly highly talented future leaders could still have accomplished for the fatherland. They went to the front to obey the same sense of duty that once drove them into the National Socialist movement years ago. When they shook hands in farewell, one sometimes had the agonizing impression that their eyes were already shadowed by death. A few months ago, one of our most heroic fighter pilots visited us in the evening. We talked deep into the night and forgot after just a few minutes that our conversation partner was not yet 22 years old and that we were already in office and honor when he was still playing Indians in our neighborhood. Here spoke a mature man to us with clear, considered judgments, his personality shaped by a rare and joyous mixture of youthful modesty and powerful self-confidence. He wrote to us a few weeks later from Italy, and a few days ago, the news of his death came through the press. One must know how these young men cling to life to be able to measure what they give up for all of us with their sacrifice.

As in every war, there is a veil of sorrow and melancholy over this personal tragedy today. It is always the best that war demands from a fighting people. It is a ruthless selection on the negative side and can only be justified before history by the fact that it simultaneously creates land and space for a future blossoming, populous national life. Modern war, in its brutal cruelty, would be completely unbearable if it were not fought for a national goal. It must ensure that from every extinguished young hero's life, a source of a richer and happier future for our people springs forth.

We live in a century of national formation. Today, we can hardly imagine that there were once eras when wars were fought for the interests of the house power politics of certain dynasties. It is therefore also absurd to assume that such or similar intentions lurked somewhere in the background of our war. Those who lead it are men from our people, those who carry it out are children of our people. It is fought solely and exclusively for the interests of this people. This time, it is not about throne and altar but about grain and oil, about space for our growing population, which cannot live and be nourished in the previous confinement. We must go through this dreadful drama, whether we want to or not.

Those who bear the heaviest burden of this war also know this. They see a goal ahead of them worth fighting for. This knowledge makes them more mature and older than they actually are. War years count for them not just double but three or four times. They have grown so far beyond daily worries that they no longer understand them. We at home must work very hard to keep up with them. They passed through lands full of blossoming fertility, always with death before their eyes, and saw here in abundance everything that we lack for life. On the short summer evenings, when dusk fell and only occasional shell impacts interrupted the growing silence, the vision of a vast, boundless land appeared before their burning eyes, settled by German farmers, a bulwark of human bodies against the ever-threatening onslaught from the East.

Here was the space for a young, growing people to live out. They had seen in the West how an aging nation, for lack of children, no longer found the strength to fill the space it possessed and perished because of it. The alternative for their own people flashed open: either suffer a similar fate or break the iron bars of the cage in which it was imprisoned. Now was the opportunity. If it was not seized, it would be lost forever.

It is a cruel but also a true word that blood fertilizes the fields. The strength of peoples comes from the earth. If they lose their earth, they also lose their life. States that rely only on industrial economy perish. They give up their national vitality with the rooting in their native soil. We have no choice but to return to the earth. The further a people has moved away from it, the more blood the return costs. Every heroic life extinguished today at the fronts is a piece of this path. From this seed of our people will one day spring the richest harvest. The wounds the war inflicts on us today will soon heal; but the sacrifices made by the whole people will also bear fruit for the whole people.

It almost feels ghostly to hear our plutocratic enemies talk about the end of the war and their war aims. They have no idea of the problems of a young, growing people that must expand its space to live. They speak of so-called democratic freedoms, which mean nothing to us in our concerns for the future. We do not have the choice to be democratic or not democratic; we simply face the choice to live or die. This alternative also gives us the strength to endure the struggle victoriously. One cannot deny our enemies the most sincere efforts they have made since the beginning of the war to introduce cracks into the unity and determination of the German people. As they must unanimously admit today, it was all in vain. Phrases cannot satisfy the hunger for life of a people; it reaches for space and earth to satisfy itself. It sacrifices blood to gain life.

Above the deep upheavals of our time, which seize each of us, stands eternally and unchangeably the will for space. It gives the war its meaning. It also transfigures the greatest and heaviest sacrifices made by a people that is on the rise and can demand and expect from us that we faithfully complete what we began in duty. We have come a good piece closer to this goal again in recent months. In the vast fields of the East, which will bear grain for our people's daily bread next year, lie German soldiers' graves.

They watch over the fact that from the blood seed of the war springs the blessing of the earth for a long time of peace.

The Trial of Youth

Speech for the Opening of the HJ Film Work

October 25, 1942

I would like to use today's occasion of opening the HJ film sessions for the wartime winter semester of 1942/43 not only to speak to the youth but also about the youth. The issue of youth has always been of particular importance in every war. The educational factors that primarily determine the development and life of youth in peace and normal times are, to a certain extent, eliminated during war, especially if it is prolonged. War is, by its nature, a matter for adults. Therefore, it must be seen as a sign of outstanding quality of a nation's youth if they can still be involved in the tasks of war to a greater extent or participate in them of their own accord. In general, however, it can be said that war is fought less by youth and more for youth.

The boys and girls who are thrust into the storm of war at such an early age often find it very difficult to find their way. The steady support of a consistent systematic education begins to loosen gradually. Often, the father is at the front and the mother is at work. The life of the school is subject to significant and unavoidable restrictions. The massive organizations of the HJ and BDM suffer from the fact that the majority of their leadership is either engaged in military service or otherwise occupied with war service. The youth is, in many respects, left to fend for itself and must try to find its own way out of the worries and hardships of the times. They need a good foundation of character, virtue, and determination to withstand these difficulties.

For this very reason, the concern of parents for their children is all the greater. They see in them the most precious treasure that cannot be taken away even by the severity of the times. Brave fathers and noble mothers are ready to give up everything for the fatherland, except for the care of their still immature children. They naturally feel responsible for them as long as they are not yet standing on their own feet and exposed to the storms of the time without adequate protection from the strength of their character and life experience. Those who do not understand the firm and unbreakable bonds

between father and mother with son and daughter do not understand this. Where parents must forgo direct supervision of their children, they need to know that they are in good hands. No one can escape the demanding compulsion that war exerts in this respect as well. Even the loving mother and the caring father know that a hard time makes people grow and mature faster than a time of contemplative idyll and convenient romance. Even here, war is a strong driving force that no one can escape.

The work of the National Socialist youth organizations is entirely aimed at replacing the missing educational factors in wartime to the best of their ability. That this cannot always be done in the most perfect way is inherent in the situation. It would not be understood later if the male leadership of our youth had not served the fatherland with weapons in hand during the nation's hour of great trial. The majority of them are at the front today. We must therefore accept the fact that only a much smaller contingent of qualified leadership is available for the increased tasks in youth leadership. This is unfortunate but unavoidable. When one considers the problems faced by the youth care of the National Socialist youth organizations in wartime and how these problems increase with the duration of the war, one will understand that even here, the ideal sometimes begins to clash with the harsh necessities of the time. Those who make a profession out of cooling their critical tempers on this would do well to remember the neglect to which German youth was exposed during the First World War to appreciate how much better this issue is handled in the current war.

A few days ago, about thirty Hitler Youth from the air-threatened areas visited me. They were all between fourteen and seventeen years old and wore either the Iron Cross or the War Merit Cross without exception. Two of them had shot down an English bomber each during a bomb night and were awarded the same way as the soldier at the front.

Do not tell me this is more of an exception or a coincidence. There are thousands of boys and girls in the air-threatened provinces of our fatherland who have proven themselves just as bravely and gallantly as these. These thirty were merely representatives of a larger group not mentioned and completely disappearing into the anonymous mass. Anyone who thinks these boys stood out with particularly arrogant behavior is very mistaken. They grew morally by many centimeters during the bomb nights in which they served the people. They had already developed an ideal of duty fulfillment in

their young years, which, although it still seemed to waver between childlikeness and manliness, was all the more convincing. When talking to these boys, I always had the thought of how wonderful it would have been if we adults today had been given such early opportunities for trial in our youth and how difficult it was actually made for us back then by making it so easy for us.

I maintain that today's youth is different from how we were earlier. The boys and girls do not understand those who believe they must express such a conviction through the most dismissive behavior towards adults and the elderly. But even here, brief and benevolent instruction is certainly more appropriate than the constant reference to the good old days when such things, as it is said, would not have been possible. Even back then, it was possible; only we adults have forgotten it too quickly. It does not need to be said that the youth must learn from the elderly. But it also gives the elderly a reminder of their own youth when they try to meet the youth in education in their language and understanding. National Socialism cannot abolish the age-old conflict between father and son. It is a generational issue that repeats itself anew in every age. It cannot be dealt with through arrogant know-it-all behavior but only through open and free understanding that we adults must show towards the youth. The best educators are often those who govern the youth with a look. We, too, looked up to a father or mother, a teacher, or an adult friend in our young years, to whom we could go with our unformed worries that were not easier for us because short-sighted educators considered them childish or silly.

Youth must be able to have trust. They must look up to their educators, whether from home, school, or National Socialist youth organizations, seeing in them understanding and kind friends who criticize not because they are older but because they have more life experience. Children usually have a very fine instinct for who means well with them. They would go through fire for such a type of educator. They meet such an educator with all the youthful enthusiasm their fresh hearts are capable of, which they have over us adults and for which we can only envy them. It is not an object for haughty jokes. Our boys need this enthusiasm very much when they take up arms for the fatherland one or two years later, and our girls just as much when they enter war service somewhere at the same time and almost prepare to become wives and mothers.

Often, young lieutenants of the infantry, tank or air force, or navy visit me during a short front leave, whom I knew not too long ago when they were still marching in the HJ or Marine-HJ. Today, they wear the Iron Cross I or perhaps the Knight's Cross or sometimes even the Oak Leaves. I am always happy to be able to talk to them today just as I did back then, not much differently than one speaks to adults. I also do not know what would entitle us to treat them like children who behave like real men in the field. I knew a tank lieutenant who went in and out of our house for years as a Hitler Youth, and for whom I, along with his comrades, was not too good to spend hours talking and lovingly and understandingly participating in their boyish lives, however unformed it might have been. He was pulled out of his burning tank during the French campaign, breathed for three days, mostly unconscious, without a word of complaint crossing his lips, and then gave his life with a whispered salute to the Führer. If Schopenhauer's saying that one can recognize a man by how he understands dying is correct, this young man, not yet twenty years old, was a perfect man.

I would have had to be ashamed at his heroic death if I had treated him arrogantly and foolishly two years earlier! Those who deal with youth best and win their deepest trust see in the boy the coming man and in the girl the future woman and mother. There is no worse mistreatment of the youth's soul than treating children more childishly than they are; and much would be gained if adults would take the trouble to recognize youth not only in their follies but also in their virtues. There is a beautiful saying about the majesty of the child; nothing is more touching and moving for father and mother than seeing themselves in the child. In their children, parents find their continuation. Even the unknown family sees its perpetuation here. Through the majesty of the child, the work and struggle of the living generation first gain a deeper meaning.

I am speaking today to many millions of German boys and girls; but I know that almost twice as many fathers and mothers are listening to my words beside them. When I wholeheartedly affirm the work of our National Socialist youth organizations, the HJ and the BDM, I am aware of what I am doing and the responsibility I am taking from or easing for many parents. I have a whole host of children at home myself, who are gradually preparing to grow into the National Socialist youth organizations. They will participate in the joys and sorrows of our youth there, like millions of other German children.

I know with what seriousness and sense of responsibility the leadership of our National Socialist youth organizations undertake their heavy tasks. I have known them for many years. These young men have almost all gone through the war as soldiers, always with the same ideal of a newly growing youth in mind, to whose character and ideological education they dedicate their life's work. They have learned outside how necessary it is in this hard century for a person to be placed on a firm ideological foundation from a young age, to gain a clear view of life alongside knowledge and education, of which they cannot acquire enough, and that character is the most important thing in the critical hours of life.

Today, we face a world that wants to destroy us as a people and especially our youth. Everyone who knows this world and has no doubt about its infernal destructive fury knows what that means. No one can say what trials this struggle for our survival will still present us with. There is only one force that can master them all: the power of character, which must be formed and educated in the child to be effective in later life.

It is no coincidence that this war, in contrast to the World War, shows a rapid decline in youth crime. Here, too, an education is at work, which the know-it-alls always only want to see the more or less insignificant shadows, while they conveniently overlook its radiant bright sides. It is in the nature of such a turbulent age that youth, faced with tasks under the compulsion of war that they would not normally be up to, sometimes speaks up more arrogantly than is customary in times of idyllic contemplation. Who would want to shoot sparrows with cannons? A friendly gesture can bring things back to balance faster and more quietly than lamentations about the good old days. One cannot deal with modern youth in that way; for they have long known that this time was old but not good. It had its tragic mistakes, which we all, both old and young, bear heavily today. We will only overcome them through a joint effort. The state we build through struggle and work would not deserve the great sacrifices we make for it if its gates were not wide open to receive the stream of advancing youth. Those who do not understand this are, in the truest sense of the word, reactionaries. They see only today and yesterday but not tomorrow.

Therefore, I ask to be understood correctly when I say that I once again have the happiness in this hour to speak not only to the youth but also

about the youth of the Reich. We were a movement of youth when we fought for power. A whole series of today's HJ leaders, including the Reich Youth Leader at the forefront, secretly attended our meetings in the Sportpalast at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Some of them even gave a false year of birth to be admitted to the party earlier. They stood with us at the graves of Herbert Norkus and other fallen Hitler Youth and heard our call to the eternal youth of Germany there. We had the future because we had the youth, but we also had the youth because we had the future.

That is how it has remained. The movement has not lost any of its youthful vigor and enthusiasm to this day. The Hitler Youth, who recently stood before me adorned with the Iron Cross or the War Merit Cross, had the same faces as those who conquered the German cities and villages with us in the years 1927, 1928, 1929, and 1930. Even if they were not called, they would be exactly where they are needed today, just as they were back then. They represent a new generation of our people, and if their hands gradually become firm and hard in work and struggle, that is only good; for one day, we must place the Reich in these hands when ours have become tired and weak.

I would also like to include the many millions of parents in my greetings. They should be convinced that our National Socialist youth leadership knows exactly that they are entrusting their most precious asset to their loyal hands in their children. They want to help them to the best of their ability to raise these children into German men and women, even outside the home and school. They should not only absorb the lessons of state and national life but also learn to have reverence and respect for their parents, to whom they owe their lives and the physical, intellectual, and spiritual foundation from which character and personality develop. We want to do everything to mitigate the eternal conflict of generations in our age, both from the side of youth and from the side of the old. So let us not try to make our children old but learn to become young again with them and through them.

Then, for us parents, all youth will become our purest source of strength. Then, the generations will slowly flow into each other, forming an eternal people represented by all of us. How could a youth not become mature and strong with such parents as role models! And how could parents not remain eternally young when such youth grows up after them!

War as Social Revolution

November 1, 1942

Last week, a session of both houses of Parliament took place in London, where the South African Prime Minister Smuts spoke. Mr. Churchill had specifically brought him to England to offer the British gentry, in their political lethargy and fatigue, a sensation and to elevate himself through the presence of the combative Boer general. It is hardly worth spending even a brief moment on what Smuts said. It was the old Anglo-Saxon clichés that England had often preached to the nations until nausea during the World War: that Great Britain had never lost a war, that time was working for England, that the Axis powers were planning a treacherous attack on the freedom of spirit that must be suppressed by force of arms, that Great Britain pursued only unselfish goals in this struggle, and that nothing was further from it than waging war for its interests and for the purse of its plutocracy, and other such stupid and absurd lies.

With all due respect to the biblical age of this Boer renegade, one cannot say that he went to intellectual lengths in his speech to the British Empire. The London press also noted this with some unease. A fanfare was expected, but it turned out to be a dud.

However, we must say that what interested us less at this meeting was what was said but rather the circumstances under which the London propaganda show took place. It was chaired by Lloyd George. He spoke with a trembling, frail voice, just like Smuts, and his opening speech was filled with deepest resignation. The British press noted with dismay the next day that neither he nor Smuts found an encouraging word, and if Mr. Churchill had not had the presence of mind to propose a toast to the South African guest at the end, this celebration would have ended like a first-class state funeral.

Reading the reports about it, one had the feeling of attending a mourning assembly. The whole thing made an almost ghostly impression, and it seemed almost like a slap in the face when Smuts spoke at the end of his speech about a social revolution that would end this war.

He was not entirely wrong when he recognized in it not the outcome but the origin of this gigantic struggle. The war has long burst the dimensions and limitations originally intended by its authors. It has, so to speak, become independent and is going its own way. This can be observed not only from our standpoint but universally. The peoples themselves have intervened directly in its course due to its prolonged duration. It could end however it may, but England will not leave it as it began. No word from the Führer's last speech in the Sportpalast has had such an alarming effect on the plutocratic world of all continents as the one stating that no bourgeois state would survive this war. It seems downright absurd for the English to still entertain the plan to end it by unleashing a revolution in Germany. A London newspaper recently remarked very correctly on this endeavor that the German people had already had their revolution, while the English people still had theirs ahead of them.

And that brings us to the core point of the entire war debate. British propaganda makes a cardinal mistake when it speaks to the Axis powers in a language they no longer understand. It finds an audience only in tiny segments of our peoples that were not and could not be affected by our revolutions. They represent a sediment that is politically insignificant and without influence. As far as our peoples are concerned, and we mainly mean the fighting front and the working home, they are fully aware of the historical significance of the questions at stake for our national future. There is no thinking person among us who does not know what we have to gain this time, but also what we have to lose. If anything is beyond all doubt, it is the general conviction that we not only can and will win but that we must win at any cost. This is our public opinion. It has nothing to do with the temporarily heavier or lighter burdens that this or any war brings for all of us. It has nevertheless, and perhaps because of this, brought us to an unprecedented maturity of our national judgment. We have been transformed as peoples through our revolutions. We see the problems of our national life in a new light, and since we have only become aware of our strength again through our national rebirth, any attempt to make us doubt our self-confidence is doomed to failure from the outset.

Compare, for example, a meeting of the people in our political life, where the Führer or a spokesman for the state or the movement speaks, with the London gathering of old men, where the old Smuts read his

commonplaces from a manuscript with a trembling, whining voice, to grasp the difference clearly. A spent world is sinking, and a new one is rising. The English may twist and turn, they may plunder our treasure of ideas and thoughts in their intellectual poverty and helplessness and attack us with the most impudent plagiarisms, but it will not help them. They will not be able to convince the world that they are fighting in the fourth year of the war for what they opposed at its beginning.

This war differs from all preceding ones in that it has a distinctly social character. It is a declaration of war by our enemies against our revolution, mainly against its socialist side. The plutocratic powers know all too well that socialism does not weaken the strength of the peoples but strengthens it. We are fighting this war from a secure ideological position. We do not need to borrow ideas from our enemies; and if it sometimes seems as if the war aims of the two sides have somewhat converged during this struggle, it is not because we have given up ours but because the English have ostensibly moved closer to them.

A good theory is sometimes the most practical thing in the world. We stand on a firm ideological foundation in this battle of giants, and that gives us the strength for our victory. National Socialism as an idea and movement has not weakened in the war, as the English assumed and hoped, but has experienced tremendous strengthening. Even those who could not always understand what it really meant before the war now feel its time-shaping power at every step. One could not imagine where we would end up if we did not always trace the political and military development of the present back to its roots. And that is what England lacks. It has no idea for which it is fighting. One only needs to read British newspapers for a few days to see that not only does everyone suggest different methods of waging war, but they also want and see different goals for this war. The British Empire has lost its self-confidence. It staggers from one illusion to the next, finding no opportunity to act amid all its purposeful optimism, and thus misses the best chances of its war effort. This is also the reason for its military defeats. It relies on its material strength, on its wealth, and the vastness of its resources, completely overlooking that victory is not won by weapons alone but also, and mostly primarily, by the spirit that wields them.

Anyone who would take the trouble today to read the history of the gradual disintegration of the old Roman world empire would find a striking

similarity here with the fate that currently hangs like a dark, unspoken doom over the British Empire. The connoisseur of historical processes and developments can only see confirmation in the English grandiosity. The British are currently amusing themselves with plans on how they will judge the statesmen and generals of the Axis powers as war criminals after an alleged victory. Apart from the fact that they primarily want to feign security that does not exist, we see in this only a sign of their fear of life. They believe, of course, as little as we do in such possibilities: but they perform a tragicomedy for themselves and apparently do not even know how ridiculous they look in the process. A London newspaper, which distinguishes itself from other organs of British public opinion by occasionally daring to kick against the pricks, recently poured the cup of its mockery over this English farce and recalled the German proverb that even the people of Nuremberg would not hang someone unless they had him.

But that is apparently not the essential point. What is more important here is that the further the English move away from victory, the further they also distance themselves from reality. They live in a pseudo-world that seems just as ghostly as the assembly of old men in the two parliaments, where the over seventy-year-old Smuts, as a representative of a people once brutally suppressed by the English, spoke of the blessings of humanity and predicted a social revolution for the end of the war. He was right, albeit in a different sense than he and his listeners believed. He whispered his thin voice into the wind, and a million-fold amplified echo of the oppressed, plundered, impoverished, and cheated peoples, who are fighting for their most basic life rights today, will answer him. This war is the social revolution. It does not need to come anymore; we are already in it. It no longer advocates the interests of impoverished and proletarianized classes but of life-hungry peoples. It will and must lead to its goal if there is ever to be peace among nations. At the end of this war, it will not be those who bravely took on this struggle who will be judged but those who provoked and made it necessary. Some neutral newspapers recently got excited because we used the phrase in one of our last speeches that the German people are fighting this time not for throne and altar but for their daily bread. They saw in it a sign of what they considered the increasing materialization of our public life and once again invoked the German people as a nation of poets and thinkers, who in their national history were always concerned with ideals and never with earthly interests. We do not dispute this but see in this very circumstance the actual cause of our national misfortune. We Germans

believe that we contributed enough to the fight for throne and altar in the 17th century with a thirty-year war. If a neutral state desires to outdo this contribution with its own, nothing stands in the way from our side. But what is meant by German national interests, we reserve the judgment exclusively for ourselves.

We see the highest of all ideals in securing our people their daily bread. This inevitably leads to the happiness of a rich blessing of children. But children are the carriers of a people's eternity. We are finally tired of being degraded by greedy rich men to the role of champions for so-called world ideals. For us, this war is essentially about fighting for the conditions to complete the social revolution of our people. We believe we are in agreement with the entire German nation when we see in this a highly ideal, morally justified, and necessary goal of this war; and most importantly, it is understood and approved by every fighting soldier. So, we do not want to haggle over words with our opponents and neutral observers. Our goals are clearly defined. They can only be enlarged, not diminished, by the length of the war and the resulting heavier sacrifices of our people. They concern the entire German nation. National Socialism has the honor of politically leading this fateful struggle of our people. Its history and tradition guarantee that it will not only be crowned with victory but that this victory will also contain everything our people expect from it and for which they willingly shoulder burden after burden today.

The whole earth has entered a state of ferment. At the end of the World War, the dynasties fell; at the end of this war, the plutocracies will fall. It is not the guilty who are called to judgment but the peoples who were cheated of their life happiness and are now fighting for it with the heaviest blood sacrifices. If we had to lose the World War to start the revolution, we must win this war to finish the revolution. While the plutocratic empires slowly crumble, new world empires are forming, which will be the results of the social revolutionary movements of the young peoples. For this, the soldiers of the Axis powers are fighting on all fronts, in the air, and on the seas. This struggle is a social revolution. It lays an old hostile world in ruins, but behind its smoke rises a new, better world.

It is that world for which thousands are dying today so that countless millions can live in it even in the distant future.

The Vision of a New Europe

November 11, 1942

The English and Americans have not learned much in their war propaganda since the First World War. Without considering the fact that the peoples have fundamentally changed and their appearance has completely transformed, they continue cheerfully and cluelessly in their old stupidity, presumably assuming that what led to full success then will also not fail to have an effect today. Even a cursory reading of the documents of Anglo-Saxon war propaganda from the First World War, especially insofar as it was directed against the German people and Reich, conveys to the reader the astonishing realization that it is the same deception today, and one only needs to replace the name of the Kaiser with that of the Führer.

Back then, we Germans were also accused of pursuing dark plans for world conquest, from which the small nations could only be saved by the Anglo-Saxon powers. They pursued a policy and warfare that, as one can imagine, was solely aimed at beautifying and improving the world and humanity, which would soon and finally be achieved with a victory by the English and Americans. Germany, on the other hand, lived on robbery, murder, terror, and oppression. Its war aimed to destroy civilization and culture, and anyone who still had a sense of such eternal values had to join the fight against this danger.

One knows how the world succumbed to this fearmongering at the time, and in the end, even the German people succumbed to the nervous strains of such treacherous propaganda. But one also knows what consequences this failure brought. The powers that possessed the infernal strength to discredit Germanness worldwide and make it a kind of bogeyman did not think, after achieving success, to fulfill even the most modest part of their promises. They plunged Europe and the entire globe into nameless misery, from which tormented humanity found no other way out twenty years later than the present war.

One is struck by the thought that our opponents today have the sad courage to approach the nations that were so deceived and betrayed at that

time with the demand to repeat the mistake of 1918 and 1919. They speculate so much on people's forgetfulness that they do not even consider it worth the effort to invent a new means of seduction. They do not bother intellectually at all, merely changing names and dates and beginning the old litany again. It is clear that under no circumstances do they want our continent to find a common approach to its fundamental life questions. That would make it unsuitable for the Anglo-Saxon robbery and plundering plans. A united Europe has been the bogeyman of British foreign policy for as long as there has been an English history. In a kind of existential fear, Great Britain desperately opposes such a possibility, and whether the leadership toward this goal comes from Germany, Italy, and their allies, from France and its vassal states, or from the great statesmen of the present or past, is irrelevant; England will always be found with its full power on the opposing side.

London will, of course, be careful not to admit the true reasons for such an anti-European policy. The entire English plan is based on the assumption that Great Britain will find continental sword-bearers who will serve its cynical procedure militarily. Alone, England would not have the strength and probably not the courage to prevent Europe from laying the foundations for a new and organic coexistence of its peoples. The continental power groups pursuing such goals encounter from the beginning the abyssal hatred of the English. Great Britain, upon learning of such plans, immediately goes into a defensive and soon an offensive stance. Under the pretense of humane, world- and humanity-blessing intentions and goals, it then develops a program of hatred and destruction against its European opponents, containing everything it imputes to them as goals and intentions. For example, no one will be able to prove to us that we have ever pursued or even advocated similar ideas and plans for the destruction of England as are daily routine against us in the British press today. But one should have no doubt that these plans from London against us are meant in all seriousness. They were not fully realized in Versailles because England believed the German people to be entirely destroyed anyway. It intends to make up for everything it missed then in a won war, and it does not hide this at all. Therefore, we must be clear that this is a fight to the death this time, where it is not so much about who is right or wrong, but about who will win or be destroyed. That and nothing else is the question here.

It is understandable that the European solidarity we envision is today exposed to a series of war-induced strains that will automatically

disappear with the end of the war. Who knows the English and does not admit that they will try everything in their interest to intensify these! They see it as the cheapest means to stoke European conflicts, especially since they have lost every other means to intervene through the military shielding of our continent by our Wehrmacht. However, the Axis powers must also expect understanding if they defend themselves against this with appropriate measures. When a lunatic or a subject hired by London raises a gun against a German soldier in the occupied territories, we react as is customary in war. This is not a sign of the coming peace but a sign of the present war.

We are fighting for our lives. In war, strict order must prevail, and the more generously one wants to implement one's goals later, the more determinedly one will use the military means in war that lead to this goal. The English try to starve Europe and shift the blame for the inevitable consequences of their cynical procedure onto us. They bomb cities and residential areas in the occupied territories and hypocritically point fingers at us. They incite confused elements here and there to sabotage our war economy and then sanctimoniously complain when we take corresponding countermeasures. Therefore, one must sharply distinguish between what is war-related in our methods and what indicates the coming peace. The new Europe is not a matter of the present but a matter of the future.

Even the North American continent only found its present unity through a war. The differences between North and South were undoubtedly much more pronounced in North America at that time than today's European differences. Nevertheless, the Union had to go through its disastrous consequences to achieve a continental concentration of its forces. Today, these differences are only perceived as antiquated and lead a modest existence in New York joke magazines. In any case, it would be childish nonsense to talk about the possibility of a war between its individual parts in the United States. And that is the decisive point. Europe will continue to wage war among itself as long as it does not recognize its common interests and take steps to represent them uniformly. But it is too much to ask the English, who have always been the beneficiaries of our continental division and still are, to help us achieve this goal.

No lengthy proof is needed to show that European solidarity, while bringing certain renunciations for the participating states, will simultaneously lead to an unprecedented blossoming of economic, cultural, and social life on

our continent. Our continent, including the corresponding parts of the fertile and resource-rich East, possesses a life potential that is inexhaustible. We have just not yet found the strength to organize it. This war was forced upon us primarily to prevent us from doing so. Meanwhile, the intensification of the modern economy continues its predetermined course, and the resulting social conflict possibilities, given the continuation of our continental political antagonisms, are likely to overwhelm especially the smaller European states in the long run.

It is a thankless task to speak of future things in the harsh daily work of war. But the attentive observer of the times must admit that fate holds both the black and white lots for our European future in its bosom. England easily plays with fire because it believes—and only believes!—that its insular location secures it from the disastrous effects of the fire. Its fatal alliance with Bolshevism is proof that continental interests find no protection with it, and the European circles that seek support from it today would likely be very surprised if they ever needed its help in their most difficult existential test.

We are undoubtedly living in an extremely critical era of European culture. This war is not so much about the hegemony of this or that group of powers on the continent but about whether it will even be possible to save Western humanity from total decay. If certain parts of the European bourgeoisie watch the gigantic struggle in the East with similar feelings to those one has at a football game between two teams, neither of which can claim special popularity, always ready to switch sympathies with each goal, it is proof of how much the continental instinct for life has already withered in these circles. We are currently witnessing a military drama that will decide the life and death of our modern culture and civilization. Before such a question, there is no evasion; one must take a stand and draw the corresponding conclusions from it. It is not enough to hope to start again after the war where one left off before the war. The bourgeois-liberal world is definitively gone. Europe no longer has a choice between it and us but only between our victory and Bolshevism. No other alternative is posed.

It would be naive to speak of England's betrayal of Europe in this context. The English have never thought European in our sense, let alone the Americans. Churchill is the incarnation of an insular worldview that uses European concepts only to confuse the European picture in England's interest. Whenever the English invaded Europe, they left only blood and tears. But

they always found auxiliary peoples on the continent to hold their stirrups. The British system of making our continent serve English purposes has been so successful because it always used the same methods. It regularly targeted the strongest exponent of European consciousness and managed to mobilize envious and shortsighted players on the continent who, for the sake of immediate success, lost sight of the great goal. While our continent was previously only in danger of sinking back into its old discord and impotence, it now faces its existential question: either come to its senses or be forced to do so, or lose its existence due to a total inundation from the East.

It may seem peculiar to hear the call for European solidarity from our mouths. But we believe that as advocates of a nationally conditioned people to which we belong and which we love above all else, and as proponents of a socialist renewal concept for our own country, we have a greater right to this appeal than the representatives of an internationally blurred ideology that has no ground under its feet.

We know that our country, even with the most intelligent and farsighted leadership, can only live and thrive on a healthy European continent. As much as we are imbued with the consciousness that Europe cannot exist without us, we are also fully aware that we cannot do without Europe. Beyond the crises and burdens of the present, primarily caused by the war, we see the vision of a new, meaningful European order rising. We feel this threatened on the one hand by England and North America, to whom it does not fit into their imperial concepts, and on the other hand by Bolshevism, which wants to destroy it out of ideological and racial opposition. In both factors, international Jewry stands in the background in a dual form, ready to leap and benefit from this or that solution.

Our construction, on the other hand, leads over the undeniable hardships of the present to a real way out of the general European dilemma. No matter how hard the struggle may be, it must and will be continued to its victorious end. Otherwise, we would only have the other choice of total annihilation of our country and our continent.

We predict with a certain apprehension that where there is no understanding or will to understand, we will again be thoroughly misunderstood. But that does not change the facts. Great changes in the history of peoples—and the present is one of the greatest and most decisive

that Western humanity has ever experienced—require their time. Just as the apple does not ripen under the lamp held below it but only under the sun and at its usual time, so do ideas and concepts not ripen under the blaze of wild daily polemics but only under the warming light that the present casts into the future. We must have time to wait. The Axis powers are currently fighting the battle that all of Europe should be fighting and know exactly that they are already understood today by at least its best parts.

Order is always the final result of confusion. When Europe reaches the highest point of its fever crisis, it will be ripe for recovery. The chills of its hectic state are not symptoms of impending death but symptoms of coming life. Rarely does the patient understand what the doctor advises and prescribes. Only later will he realize the danger he was in during the crisis. Regardless of his momentary rashness, it is the doctor's duty to initiate and apply everything that his art offers as remedies for the recovery process, and if necessary, not to shy away from a radical cure if the patient cannot be saved otherwise.

Nothing can absolve us from fulfilling this duty. Whether the patient will ever thank us for it depends on whether we succeed in keeping him alive. But we are not afraid of answering this question.

The New Order

November 15, 1942

The attitude of our people towards the war is different in its fourth year than it was in its first. What we all only suspected at the outbreak of war, we now see and know clearly. As the war has expanded in its dimensions, so have its goals. What began as a local event has become a worldwide historical struggle, and the German people are now fully aware that we must either prevail in it or perish. We had not thought this far in 1939, and even after the victorious offensive in the West, many still believed that the worst was over. It was only the campaign in the East that opened our eyes to the deeper problems of this war. The veil over the mysterious picture was torn away. We now all know that it is a matter of life and death. The differences between the warring powers are so profound that they must find a fundamental resolution. For the price of our future historical life, we have thrown our entire national existence into the balance of fate. There is no turning back.

If there is any comforting reassurance in these hard and difficult times, it is that our people have become completely familiar with this imperative demand over the course of more than three years of war. We are entirely prepared for war. Everyone works for and fights to win it. The entire nation knows that outside of victory, no life possibility remains for us. So we must bear the war until victory is in our hands. This realization is supported by entirely sober and realistic considerations. It does not contradict in the least the personal pain that the suffering of war inflicts on the individual. The war has already lasted long enough to free us from any illusions. We are all together on a ship navigating through storm-tossed waves. We listen to the captain's command and each do our duty at our posts, always striving to contribute to steering through the storm of events toward the safe harbor of a happy peace. Those who leave the fighting community risk being swept overboard.

In contrast to our enemies, we only need to apply in war what we learned in peace. While they must set democracy aside to protect democracy, we are in the fortunate position of being able to adapt our methods of warfare

to our war goals. Our war machinery has smoothly evolved from our peacetime policies. Even our people's education was set up in such a way before the war that it can no longer surprise us today. We knew our enemies far too well to believe without further ado that they would allow us our peaceful upward development without a fight. Every great new state doctrine must prove itself once in the hardest trial of fate, especially when it is supported by a people experiencing their national rebirth through it.

The German nation is still in the making. After its incomparable regeneration process in the second half of the past century, it went through only a period of weakness at the end of the First World War and a few years afterward. Its current concentration of strength is proof that there is much more in it than even we suspected. However, we do not possess a fraction of the possibilities to live out our national life that we deserve. Had we used the past two centuries to consolidate our international position instead of consuming them in internal power and worldview struggles, we would dominate a large part of the earth today. It is clear that the omissions of these two centuries cannot be made up for and compensated in a few years. This requires a continuing gigantic national effort, not limited to conquering what we lack but also far beyond that, to assert and exploit what has been conquered. We now face this second task of the war.

Very few people in 1939 realized that it would come this far. The others imagined the war to be much simpler than it actually is. They believed that its goals could be achieved in stages and over time, without having a clear idea of how this should happen in detail. Our century is marked by the politics of space and resources. Modern technology has brought about a state of humanity in which only the nations that possess the necessary space and resource bases can assert themselves and live out their lives. The peoples of our continent are also multiplying rapidly. Those who do not keep pace are lost. And only the nation that, based on its own space, can feed a rapidly swelling population can keep pace. But that is not enough; it must also have the means to arm itself against any threat, which includes coal, iron, manganese, rubber, oil, and more. These are the foundations of national life for the coming time, on which every advancement of a nation's culture and civilization depends. A people without these prerequisites must die. It cannot feed and equip itself on its own soil. As a result, it shrinks in population. Consequently, whether it wants to or not, it is forced into battle by more

populous nations and crushed in this fight not only by weapons but also by sheer numbers.

Our opponents have an easy time talking. They possess space and resources in abundance, indeed, they cannot even fully exploit them. When they claim today that they wanted and want to share these with us, it is simply not true. On the contrary, they want to exclude us from their possessions to keep us eternally dependent on them. Only in this way do they believe they can exercise effective control over our national development, which they see as a prerequisite for their security. Such control, however, requires constant interference in the internal shaping of our economic, social, and political life, in short, our total national unfreedom. Modern civilization has invented more refined methods of enslaving peoples and nations than were customary in antiquity, the Middle Ages, or even the recent past. However, they are no less effective because they are applied less noisily.

Authoritarian state concepts represent a sharp break with this outdated system. These revolutionary doctrines have tried to put their peoples on their own feet and make them largely independent of their environment, at least by exploiting all the means and possibilities available to them. Even when we wanted to carry out this attempt in peace and without the slightest thought of war, the plutocratic owning states saw it as a threat and then themselves resorted to war when they realized that they could not succeed through cunning and extortion in dissuading us from the plan of a free and independent development of our national life. That is why they forced us into this armed conflict. When they claim today that it is about democracy, it is, of course, pure nonsense. To protect democracy, they threw democracy overboard and allied themselves with the Soviet Union, the most anti-democratic system history has ever seen.

In neutral newspapers, we are often accused today of having too materialistic a view of the reasons and causes of the war. We feel above this suspicion. We merely lay bare the time with all its riddles and backgrounds. Like an anatomist, we dissect it to see into its entrails. The struggle for pastures, farmland, and feeding grounds has almost always been the cause of great revolutions and wars. This is not as materialistic as it might seem. The culture and intellectual heights of a people often depend heavily on its economic and social well-being. Not always are poetry, music, painting, architecture, sculpture, stage art, and science the results of national poverty,

and a people that has enough to eat and lives in dignified housing conditions does not necessarily have to be lazy, cowardly, stupid, and incapable of creative achievements. Just as in the capitalist era of classes, the rich invented their own morality for the poor, allowing them to remain pious and virtuous without the rich making any effort to partake in this blessing specifically stemming from poverty, so the owning nations try to do the same today in the plutocratic age towards the nationless.

We reject such state ethics. We are fighting for our rights as a whole people. This war is as little a war of the Wehrmacht as it is of the party. The Wehrmacht has only the honor of leading it militarily, and the party, the honor of leading it politically. No one from the leadership intends to increase his own standard of living through victory, but the general standard of living of our people should be raised through it. We Germans do not always want to sow, we want to harvest once. How much national strength has been lost to us alone in the past two centuries because we were not a nation! Many of the leaders of today's USA are grandchildren of German grandfathers who found it too cramped at home or could no longer find a livelihood there. We can only hold our nationality together if we have the necessary living space for it. No one will give us this; we have to acquire and fight for it, as always in history.

We know very well that this is a burden for the generation that has to carry it out. But is it not also a burden for the group of men who have to represent this fight? Although we avoid talking about it as much as possible, it must be said on this occasion that everyone who directly helps the Führer today to bear the responsibility for this gigantic struggle ultimately also guarantees its success with his life. We did not seek it, but since it became inevitable, we did not avoid it either. We are now imbued with the firm will to do everything to lead it to a happy and victorious end, each in his area of responsibility.

We see it as a great honor to be slandered and insulted by our enemies. Anyone who does not experience this honor would only make himself suspicious. And we are completely indifferent if the English have nothing else to propose but to put us before an international court after the war. That will still take a while. Perhaps those who are loudly demanding this today will bitterly regret it later. Even in the internal political struggle, many have ventured too far against us and had to pay for it for years. We do what is

right. We fight with fanaticism for the life rights of our people, as we have been doing for over two decades; and just as we have won every battle so far, even if sometimes after hard, difficult, and nerve-wracking struggles, we will also win this greatest battle for our national life. Just as we will never abandon our people, our people will never abandon us. They see in us only the advocates of their honor and their life rights. We have made common cause. One day, it will be crowned by the greatest victory.

The so-called New World has become the old one, and the old one is about to become the new one. Under the leadership of the Axis powers, Europe is currently undergoing a major structural transformation. Since these are gigantic adjustments in all areas of its public life, this process is taking a little longer than the layman imagined. But that does not change the fact that this process is underway. We do not need to accelerate it; it is driven by the facts themselves. This Europe has pushed its wedge deep into the East and thus regained breathing space. The plutocratic powers, which only saw it as a training ground for their economic interests, must slowly come to see it again as a continent capable of living on its own. This is more than a continental reorganization; it is a change in the world view.

After this war, the earth will have a new face. The dull atmosphere that has hung over humanity since 1914 will slowly give way to clearer, fresher air. An age of order, stability, and balance is beginning, based on the insights of common sense. Instead of plutocratic adventurers hiding behind parliamentary majorities to escape the grasp of their peoples, self-responsible statesmen will emerge from the people to work for the people.

This new order will hold because it was baptized in blood on the battlefields. Every soldier who put his life on the line for it will stand ready to protect it; and the dead would rise from their graves if what they fought and died for were not achieved: the eternal Reich.

On Political Passion

November 29, 1942

We Germans are fanatics of objectivity. Sometimes we go so far in this that, out of sheer fear of being unfair to the enemy, we do ourselves an injustice. We consider it beneath our dignity to decide on a matter, even one that concerns our most personal interests, solely out of the passion of the heart. Everything must have its order with us, and before we condemn an enemy, we consider it our duty to thoroughly investigate whether he deserves it.

In normal times, this is the most beautiful virtue of a people. It has brought us much fame and recognition in our history, but it has also cost us much blood. In war, it has always been a hindrance to us. Often, when it would have been appropriate to act out of the fanaticism of a strong political passion and to make the well-being and benefit of our fatherland the guiding principle of our thinking and feeling, we became uncertain and resorted instead to the political lukewarmness that has already brought us so much misfortune. A certain type among us even goes so far as to harm their own people out of sheer fear of being seen by the enemy as not objective. If we had not occasionally found statesmen in our history who were typically undistinguished in that they represented German national interests without reservation and without sentimental considerations, we would be the poorest and most pitiful people in the world today.

Because there is no doubt that politics, i.e., the representation and safeguarding of the vital interests of a state and a nation, is a matter that must be pursued with passionate zeal. Life among nations is not so simple that it can be ordered according to the rules of normal civility. Especially in war, he who goes straight to his goal without looking left or right and derives the justification for his actions more from success than from morality is at an advantage. We see it almost every day today that our enemies are completely unrestrained in these matters. They usually don't even bother to find the appearance of moral justification for their actions. Success is more important to them than morality. Their practice proves that they believe it is better to be right than to have the right.

We must still learn this impartiality in war actions based on pure expediency as a people. We are still young in politics, and even in the past, our monarchs took care of waging war for us. We find it difficult to get used to pursuing the course of events with full, passionate zeal as a people and to saving sentiments for when the danger is over. One must admit that if there is any matter of fanaticism, war is one. It demands from a people an unconditional readiness to sacrifice, which in the individual goes as far as renouncing one's own life. National passions are stirred up to their deepest depths by it. Man appears again in his wild primordial form, and events sink back into the barbaric age. It is no longer so much about what is moral and civilized but about what promises success. The best way to proceed is to be guided solely by the principles of the well-being and advantage of one's own cause and to make the old wisdom the guiding principle of one's actions, that one should act first and then philosophize.

Treitschke once spoke of how great political passion is a precious treasure, but the dull heart of the majority of people offers little room for it. He says this especially with regard to his own people, and he is right. Many among us believe they are simply not German if they do not first let the enemy have their say. That would not be dangerous in itself if the enemy did not know it too. But since he knows it, he always has the opportunity to speculate on it and draw his advantages from it. As a people, we can be filled with a raging hatred for another people; but one only needs to appeal to our generosity and objectivity, and we immediately go weak in the knees. This is mainly because we have too little practice in political matters. We see our enemies as we are ourselves and, what is even worse, as we would like to be. Nowhere is the educated philistine as widespread as it is with us. It will still take a long time before the principle that is self-evident to the English, that it is not about right or wrong but about the fatherland, will take hold among our people.

All this is not dangerous, just annoying, if the leadership of the Reich is not prone to this German national vice. It must pursue and represent the political interests of our people according to pure expediency and must not be distracted by the clamor of so-called public opinion. It must know that it can only gain the enemy's applause by sacrificing the national good, but that is neither its duty nor its task. It must conduct war and politics out of the passion of its heart and sense of responsibility. Nothing would be more fatal

than if it were ever to let its actions be determined by sentimentality instead of acting out of the fanaticism of its conviction. Leadership must not be overthrown by deceitful enemy phrases of humanity. It must always do what it has recognized as right. In the end, success decides, and not only about victory and defeat but also about right and wrong. There has never been a war in which the victor took the blame for the war upon himself and the vanquished was declared innocent. Never, for example, were we so right as in 1914, and yet in 1919 we were burdened with the guilt of the war because we had lost it.

There are a few among us who are almost ashamed to represent their people's cause with passion. One cannot make a worse accusation against them than being biased. They pride themselves on their objectivity, which does not even stop at war, and believe they are called to play a kind of neutral referee role even in the nation's struggle for existence. The most exciting events of the war pass them by without a trace. Just as they are unable to love their people from the depths of their souls, they lack the strength to hate its enemies. Their entire thinking and actions are covered by the mildew of passionlessness. Yes, they even make an effort to find reasons for the treacherous actions of our enemies against us, if possible, to excuse or at least understand them.

They do not realize how much they are doing their people and themselves an injustice. They believe they are on the height of human morality but are only at its beginning. They have gotten used to seeing the war from two sides, preferably from the enemy's side out of fear of bias. They do not admit it, but it is so. Their national instinct is so atrophied that it has become incapable of the most natural reactions. Nothing can stir them up anymore. If they read in the newspapers that the English, if we lost the war, plan to tear German children from their mothers and forcibly evacuate and raise them, they think that is not meant so badly or is just propaganda. If the people go into a raging fury about it, they consider it unrefined and a sign of a lack of education. If the enemy succeeds somewhere, they smugly point out that they had foreseen it, and if luck in war favors us, they have nothing to say but to wait and see, and the worst is yet to come.

Of course, we know very well that this type of person is numerically insignificant. They do not even make up one per thousand of our people. But this one per thousand is sometimes enough to spread an atmosphere of

lukewarmness in a certain circle of life because, of course, the enthusiastic person easily gets the idea in the presence of such empty hearts that his enthusiasm might not be quite appropriate. In a cheerful and amusing company, a misanthrope can sometimes spoil the whole mood. If the others laugh, he sits in the corner and takes offense. Laughing at a good joke is no real fun anymore if one does not participate but only shows his indifference proudly and arrogantly. Just as fanaticism and passionate zeal are contagious, so is apathy towards great things. An empty heart often gives itself a very clever appearance, and enthusiasm is all too easily inclined to mistake that for better insight when it is only poverty of the soul.

But this war is being fought over the ultimate things. It is about life or death. The deepest passions are aroused, on both sides. Whoever loses here has finally lost and played out. In everything, we must therefore try to surpass the enemy, not only in the art of winning but also in the art of overcoming setbacks. It must be self-evident to us to believe in success and do everything conceivable for it. Whoever tries to evade the demands of war is our enemy, regardless of what lame excuses he may offer. We judge everyone solely by what he does for victory today. Parasites and slackers receive our deepest contempt and, if they fail the war, the avenging arm of the law. We have no understanding for false objectivity today; on the contrary, we consider it a danger and a threat to our national interests in our people's struggle of fate. Only the suffering of our people moves us, not the punishment of fate that befalls the peoples who wanted to inflict this suffering on us, although we had done nothing to them and lived in peace with them. In the great drama of this war, one must have a firm standpoint because otherwise, one is constantly in danger of being overthrown by events. Our standpoint is the standpoint of our people, their well-being, their happiness, and their future.

It takes a good portion of emotional coarseness to remain unmoved in this gigantic struggle. We do not possess it. We let ourselves be lifted up and thrown down by the war. We participate with passionate hearts in its pains and triumphs. For those among us who appear indifferent, we have nothing but disgust and contempt. He does not impress us with his sense of justice; he only disgusts us with it. We could spit on him if he plays the neutral in his people's distress. He is not worthy of belonging to us because he is only with us with half a heart. He does not deserve the sacrifices that

millions of men and women are making today for the future of their people, in which he too will one day participate.

Today we deserve the most radical fanaticism and the hottest passion for our great cause. We are not ashamed of our unconditional love for our people, from whom we come and whose children we are, whom we can observe daily in their diligence and efficiency, in their uprightness and integrity, in their courage and firm national readiness, and whose historical struggle for existence it is our honor and pride to participate in. We feel and think with this people; we live with them, and in the midst of them, we want to die one day. They are our everything, our life's meaning and purpose. We and our children belong to them like to a family. A suffering that befalls our people grieves and pains us just as if it hit our closest relatives, and their joy and happiness are alone our joy and happiness. Here we are entirely partisan and entirely one-sided. Here we do not want to hear any other opinion than the one that benefits our people. And even if it seems wrong, it becomes right for us because it serves the well-being of our people. We know our workers, farmers, and soldiers, our officials and intellectuals, we know the spirit of sacrifice of our women and the enthusiasm of our children. We belong to them, and therefore we also commit ourselves to them.

And as we love our people, so we hate their enemies with all our soul. We are not ashamed of that either but confess it before everyone who wants to hear it. We have done nothing to them; on the contrary, we have met them as far as we could. But they did not want peace, but war. Cowardly, they attacked us, and now they threaten us with revenge plans that only an abyssal hatred can devise.

So let us answer hate with hate! Whoever attacks us in our lives has no claim to our objectivity; we call for resistance against them with all means. They do not know us if they think they can exploit our national fault. We are ready to do and give everything to fight for our people's freedom. We fight this war with a cool head but also with a passionate heart. We strike the enemy wherever we can. Obstacles on the way to victory only make us more eager to attack, and occasional setbacks spur us to new top performances. In war, we only want to hear about war. We are not cowardly enough to close our eyes to its tasks and dangers. On the contrary, we want to see and overcome them. We know justice only for our own people. To the enemy, however, our hate and our will to destroy are due. Whoever speaks to us of

the enemy's rights in this war, we face bravely and manfully because he diminishes the rights of our people.

Our enemies sneer that we are not up to such a character test. They will be mistaken, and we will show them. No sacrifice is too great, and no way too far to achieve victory. Our people will stand arm in arm in all the war's suffering and happiness, a living phalanx of human bodies, always ready to attack and defend at the Führer's command, their hearts full of passionate love for their cause and cold hatred for their enemies. Lukewarmness will be spat out from its mouth.

War Christmas 1942

Radio Address to the German People on Christmas Eve

December 24, 1942

Whoever the harsh war may allow, be it at the front, at home, or somewhere else in the vast world, will pause for a brief moment at this festive hour, as we prepare for War Christmas 1942, and let their gaze wander from the short past to the distant future. For the fourth time, the German people celebrate this most beautiful of all their festivals in the midst of war. One can almost hear the distant thunder of cannons accompanying our Christmas celebration with its harsh melody. No one among us can celebrate this year's Christmas in the old way or even with the usual company. The war has intruded upon German families without choice or regard, separating fathers from children, husbands from wives, sons from parents, fiancés from brides, and brothers from siblings.

Never before in our history have Germans been so far apart from each other at Christmas as they are this year. The son stands as a soldier in the East, the husband in the West, the brother high in the icy North, and the friend in the sandy deserts of Africa. Across all seas, German warships with our soldiers sail far from home to fight for our survival. It takes a strong love and a very intimate sense of connection to unite all Germans in spirit for at least a quarter of an hour. The opportunity for this has now come.

Again, like last year, countless men at the front and countless women at home have asked me to convey their personal greetings to their mothers, wives, or children at home, or to their sons or husbands out in the field over the airwaves. As much as I would like to, I cannot fulfill this wish. I must speak to all and for all. In these few minutes, when the hearts of the entire nation are so full, I must summarize and express the thoughts and feelings that move and fill us on this evening. Even though I am usually not at a loss for words, today I am at a loss.

Where should I begin and where should I end? Which string in the grand concert of harps that our souls want to play should be made to sound?

War is a harsh affair. It does not take much consideration for people and their personal wishes and longings. It is waged for a great goal, and this goal can only be achieved if everything else is subordinated to it. For nearly three and a half years, we have been living, fighting, and working under its commanding force. It does not release us for a day, not even for a minute, from its circle of duties. Anyone who takes these duties seriously—and who wouldn't have the ambition to do so!—is under its categorical imperative from their first to their last hour.

And that is a good thing. When the duties of the nation call, one must bow to them, no matter how hard and burdensome they may sometimes be. Our soldiers at the front do this, our women and men do this, and even our children at home do this. One would have to be completely brutalized to want to live alongside the war in the face of such a general deployment of our national strength; and I cannot imagine that people who try to do this today can be inwardly satisfied and happy.

The one who will feel the melancholy festiveness of this hour most deeply is the one who has fought and worked on a duty-filled wartime post for a whole year; for only he has the right to make this Christmas Eve entirely his own, to be captivated by its, albeit harsh in war, charm, and to draw from it the strength to victoriously overcome the dangers that threaten us and thus pave the way for the Reich into a brighter, lighter, and more beautiful future.

This time we were able to significantly ease our people's Christmas celebration by providing some additional food supplies. We owe this to the historic victories of our soldiers. They have conquered space for their people, grain fields whose fruit fills our barns, a visible honorary gift from the fighting front to the working homeland. Not only for this, but for an entire year of hardest battles and proudest victories and triumphs, they deserve the deepest thanks and warmest recognition of the entire people. If we live safely at home and the war, aside from the air war, takes place far from our borders, then over all our successes, the blessings of which we cannot yet fully appreciate, stands the military genius of the Führer as well as the bravery and heroism of our fighting troops. Therefore, on this festive evening, our first thoughts are for them. Our soldiers keep loyal watch far from home. If the war does not directly claim them at this hour, they are now gathered around

the Christmas tree in their bunkers and foxholes, which, even if only with sparse light, offers them a melancholy reminder of home. As we think of them now, so they all think of us. From the vast mist of the fields and forests of the East and all other fronts where German soldiers stand, the great singing begins at this hour. It sounds almost like a single choir of millions, expressing love and deep connection with all of us at home. How happy is the soldier out there in the feeling that his family at home lives in secure comfort. That is what he fought for. He risked his life so that the life of his people might be secured.

Even in war and on a people's march to a bright future, there are moments when everyone stands still to take stock. We are at such a crossroads today. We see before us the golden bridges that span between the front and home at this hour. We almost have the feeling that we could reach out and touch each other, so little distance now lies between us. There is no one among us who could or would want to escape the strong charm of such a spiritual connection.

Tonight, our soldiers are with us. They stand before our mind's eye, just as we saw them when they left us. They have fought for the Reich's survival for three and a half years and are ready and determined to continue this fight until its victorious end. They stand with their bodies before their people to protect them. What do our small worries and burdens mean compared to their brave and dangerous lives! We would have to be ashamed to even mention them in the face of the front. We know the homeland is safely protected by German arms. A soldiery such as history has never seen before forms a wall far beyond our country's borders that no enemy can overcome.

But our soldiers would not be Germans if, even in the thunder of the cannons, they did not sometimes glance homeward. Without any sentimentality, but with emotion and pride, they think of home and the beautiful days of peace, which have long since disappeared, for whose more beautiful return they fight and which they want to bring home to us as the most precious fruit of their great victory.

There is probably no unit out there where a good comrade is not missing this Christmas. He lies covered by the cool grass in enemy land. His grave is a boundary stone of our space. The soldier speaks of his fallen

comrade tonight as he refreshes memories of the hard battles of this war, and every dead hero is thought of at home by a mother, a father, a wife, or a group of children in proud mourning.

Our dead are the only ones who have the right to demand anything from us today, both at the front and at home. They are the eternal reminders, the voices of our national conscience, which constantly drives us to do our duty.

The mothers who mourn their lost sons should be reassured. They did not give birth to their children in vain or raise them with worries. They led the proudest and bravest life a son of the fatherland can lead, and they crowned it with the most heroic end one can achieve: they sacrificed themselves so that we could stand in the light. It is up to us alone whether this great sacrifice finds its deepest meaning. Hölderlin's words apply to them:

"And messengers of victory descend: The battle is ours! Live on high, O fatherland. Do not count the dead! Not one of your beloved has fallen in vain."

This is a harsh and brave lesson of the war, which can give comfort and strength only in a higher sense.

Therefore, we include the parents, wives, and children of our fallen heroes most gratefully in our hearts at this hour. They should witness the fulfillment of what their sons, husbands, and fathers died for and find the most comforting solace in it.

I would like to speak especially earnestly to the German mothers today. Although war is, in general, a matter for men, where would we be without the help of our mothers and wives! With their female instinct, which never deceives them, they recognize the decisive greatness of this time. They feel exactly that with it, the hour of the mothers has come, that in the onslaught of our enemies against the Reich, as they openly admit, what our women gave to the nation through their pains: their children, is particularly threatened.

Who does not see in their mind's eye the millions of shining pairs of eyes lighting up around the Christmas tree tonight! We work and fight for our

children. We must go through the inferno of this war to find the entrance to a more beautiful and noble world for them. It is primarily for them that we have prepared this festival in the midst of the war. It will be one of their proudest memories for their entire lives. So when I speak from the homeland to the front, countless millions of sweet children's voices sound in my voice, wanting to send their greetings and stammering affections to their fathers out there. There is no more beautiful task for me than to be the interpreter of these childlike and yet so strong feelings at this hour.

What should I say to our soldiers from home? That the home stands faithfully and unwaveringly behind them, they have long known. They experience this especially today in countless millions of letters and gifts of love from home. We are all with them. The homeland will never abandon the front. The soldier does not need to look back when he faces the enemy. He is covered at his back by a million-strong army of workers, farmers, and intellectuals, especially by German women, who serve the cause of the war with noble fanaticism despite all its burdens and would never tolerate it being exposed to any danger. We feel no difference in thinking, feeling, and especially in attitude between those at home and those at the front.

We are a fighting and working people as front and homeland, bravely and unwaveringly defending our lives. We were forced into this war; we will endure it with the strength of the entire nation until the victorious end.

"Courage is good," says Theodor Fontane once, "but perseverance is better. Perseverance is the main thing!"

That is what matters to us now; and especially this evening, we want to strengthen our resolve. We possess all the possibilities for victory. It will be ours if we daily and hourly will it more firmly and do everything that serves it.

What haven't we learned in the past 3½ years! We have only now become aware of our strength. We know that our people's life stands above everything else, that we must fight and work for it if we want to maintain it, that a great future awaits us if we recognize and obey it, that we stand at a turning point of time and that it is now crucial to understand and act accordingly, that fate tests us long to see if we are called to lead, that we must not only assert our claims but also earn them, that we are never

abandoned if we do not abandon ourselves, that courage of the heart, especially in war, is higher than intellectual cunning, that we are in the process of becoming a nation and therefore must do everything to accelerate our people's rebirth, that we are all important and indispensable, every one of us, that anyone who tries to evade the duties of the community today is not worthy of belonging to it, and above all, that the painful wounds of today will be the honorable scars of tomorrow.

The great teacher of war has taught us all this. He has sometimes treated us harshly and not spared us. But we thank him for that. How have we Germans fought and suffered for our fatherland in these three and a half years! This great sacrificial march of our people was not undertaken in vain. It will only end when we have reached the goal. We owe it to ourselves. So when we greet our people with our most grateful remembrance, it is with the pledge to bring their willingness to sacrifice to fulfillment. They will receive their reward through victory.

Today I address all Germans around the world. As I convey to them the Führer's greetings and thanks, I also convey to the Führer the greetings, thanks, and deepest reverence of the entire nation. To him and his historic work go the hottest wishes we send up to the star-studded sky tonight. May the Almighty take him and all of us under His gracious protection. Before God and man, we confess that we will not cease our fight and work until we can bring victory to our people and a better peace to suffering humanity. The Führer will lead us in this. He has shown us the way so many times, and his historical successes were the most joyful when we all stood behind him in faithful trust and served his work with loyalty. So it will be again this time. Through struggle and work to victory and peace! Let this be our confession on Christmas Eve 1942.

The time I wanted to speak to you is over. The few candles on the Christmas tree are going out. From afar, the everyday life of struggle and work calls again. We will gladly devote ourselves to it. From the magic of tonight's festive evening, we take strength and courage for the hard work of war. If we bravely and faithfully serve the times, then in the end, they will belong to us.

I send my greetings to all Germans at the front, at home, and everywhere in the wide world!

A bond of love embraces us at this hour. Across time and space, we reach out to each other, so far apart yet so close. Embraced by the high night of clear stars, we look faithfully and confidently into the future. The free coming century shines upon us, as the poet says, in royal distance. It demands struggle and sacrifice from us, but one day it will bow to us. It is only a matter of time and patience, courage and diligence, faith and trust, the strength of our souls, and the bravery of our hearts.

The Perfected Ones

December 27, 1942

Even a widespread skepticism of our time still gives modern humans, in bright moments, a sense of the correctness of the ancient notion that the gods let those they particularly love die young. This can be understood for the fighting soldier not in terms of earthly utility, but in terms of a higher national or folk morality. It means nothing more than that those who are taken in their early years, in the bloom of their youth, leave life at a stage where it is comprehended solely through the absoluteness of principle and ideal, not yet through the limitations of reality, which, the longer it endures, forces ever stronger compromises. The harshness and duration of the war bring this to our consciousness more deeply every day. We are going through a time that presents us with new tasks daily. We feel its frenzied pace and the strong dynamic inherent in it increasingly take hold of us. We are caught up in it, whether we like it or not, and the more individuals try to escape it, the more tightly it embraces them. It compels us to bring the purity of our vision and a long-cultivated ideal into constant alignment with its daily requirements. This demands the courage to deal with everyday matters, which, the more difficult they become, the more they risk clashing with principle or a purely ideal concept. The days are gone when we only needed to ask what was dogmatically right. Now, it is often more important to do what seems expedient at the moment.

For victory is not just a matter of dogma, but above all, a matter of practice. It does not always allow us to do what is purely ideal. Often, it imposes on us the obligation to choose the lesser of two evils. The struggle for the freedom and security of our people forces us, the longer it lasts, to take greater account of the natural limitations of our capabilities in all areas. We are bound wherever we look.

Those who gave their lives for the great goal of the fatherland are freed from these bonds. They have shattered the earthly shell and stand beyond the narrow limitations in which we breathe and act. They died in the young bloom of their years, the great ideal before their eyes, pure and unclouded by the practical necessities of the time. When they bade farewell

to life, it surrounded them with its most heroic rhythm. The great goal, for which we must fight and work through hard days and sorrowfully sleepless nights, had already extended a hand to them in the last minute of their earthly existence. Those who remain bear the greater pain in their grief of separation, for they stand before the mountain, while those others have already crossed it.

In my immediate environment worked for a long time a young SA leader and air force officer who always represented to me an image of the new German masculinity. Every time a great battle was fought somewhere on a theater of war, his heart was filled with deep sadness that he could not be there. He found his first deployment as a paratrooper in the battle for Crete. He went to the troops as if to a sacred covenant. On the morning he set out, he stood below the door and gave one last salute upwards with a raised hand. I never saw him again. In the heavy fighting on Crete, he died a hero's death. A headshot abruptly ended his young, hopeful life. He was laid to rest in a military cemetery on Crete. A wooden cross on his grave bears only his name, his rank, the day of his birth, and the day of his passing.

We had a portrait of him painted, which hangs in the adjutant's room. One has the beautiful feeling that he continues to live among us. The pain of his departure begins to heal gradually. One sees the dead soldier already in a more transfigured light. When I look at his picture, I sometimes have the strong and spontaneous feeling of a complete fulfillment. He has accomplished what still lies ahead of us with all its dangers. No matter what heights life may carry us to, here we stand before a harmony of ideal and reality that will remain forever unattainable for us.

When a mother weeps for her fallen son or a wife for her fallen husband, they weep more for their own pain than for the pain of the dead. The dead have risen higher than any of us can rise. They left behind a life of eternal bonds in which we must act and which keeps us shackled. Whoever gives his blood to create space for his people and their growing number of children performs, within a small circle, the greatest miracle of nationhood itself. Far beyond our comprehension, he acts as a historical tool, and it does not matter whether he is explicitly aware of it or not. He accepts war as an elemental fact and does not philosophize about it as an idea or concept. He submits to its hard and inescapable compulsion, thereby proving a commitment that deserves the deepest reverence from those who remain behind.

The 20th century, alongside many abnormalities stemming from its impulsive character, has also sharpened our awareness of life in its harsh original form. We constantly strive to see things as they actually are, not as we imagine them to be. We no longer gloss over its problems with cheap phrases like our fathers did but pursue them to their deepest core. Even the heroic death on the battlefield is not surrounded by a facile romanticism for us. It is not sweet, but it is honorable to die for the fatherland.

There are families in the country who have sacrificed three or more sons for the Reich in this war. Some lost all their male offspring and face the extinction of their name. Where else should they find comfort than in a higher ethic of war, which we all strive for with passionate zeal! This war is a broad incursion into our previous conceptual world. It leads not to the liquidation of the National Socialist view of people, Reich, and state, but to their complete realization everywhere. Only in and through this war have we learned what it means to belong to a great national community and what obligations it imposes on us simply because so many men in the bloom of their years sacrifice their lives for it, and so many women are thereby plunged into sorrow and proud mourning. If the long duration of the war relativizes many things that were otherwise dear to us, there is only one salvation from the intellectual confusion of the time: the absolute value of the fatherland and the people with all its duties, but without any personal rights of the individual in the face of death, which thousands suffer for their fatherland to protect and preserve the life of the nation.

Never in our history has our people as a whole been so close to the fate of the Reich as today. We all feel it as our own fate and are therefore connected to it with every fiber. The bravery of the man at the front is no longer judged by his origin or birth. There, the worker and farmer fight, bleed, and die alongside the representative of our old warrior nobility. They wear the same uniform, eat the same food, receive the same honors for their heroism, and when they fall, they are covered by the same mound in enemy land. This brings about a social regrouping of our people that corresponds to the deepest essence of National Socialism and makes the war for the front a historical communal experience of a special kind. It is also true that the working and farming classes are much closer to genuine soldiery than possession or so-called society. Without us needing to do anything, the front itself lives in a socialist atmosphere of common struggle, and its battles

achieve stronger breakthroughs to social communal consciousness than any effort in the homeland.

It is our national misfortune that we have never mustered the strength to find an absolutely fitting and covering agreement between what we call national consciousness and what we call religiosity. We see what this would practically mean in the Japanese nation. There, being pious also means being Japanese. From this uniformity of national and religious thought and feeling springs a patriotic force of immense dynamism. The best among us strive for this final synthesis. Unfortunately, we do not yet possess this religious obligation to the fallen heroes, which would extend their heroism into a national myth. Our historical tradition imposes a thousand spiritual and intellectual inhibitions on us; we cannot leap over our own shadows. All the deeper and more earnestly, however, must we strive to replace what is apparently lacking here through personal and self-chosen commitment. Today, we can hardly imagine the power the dead possess over the living if we only let them speak. The army of the fallen has not laid down its arms. It marches in reality in the ranks of the fighting soldiers. It stands as a warning and national conscience over the entire nation, and in its eternal silence, a demanding language can be heard that cannot be ignored.

So if mothers and wives bear pain and sorrow for their fallen sons and husbands, the nation honors in them the bearers of a heavy and hard personal fate. But the dead deserve more than our tears. They deserve zeal and fanaticism in work and battle from an entire people, to whom they have paved the way. They deserve from us the completion of what they died for. They demand from the living generation the Reich in its greatness and power, which they greeted with burning eyes one last time upon their departure. Over our heads, they join hands with those yet to come. Without being present, the past and the future exert the greatest power over us. They stand in alliance with each other. The nation would pay a terrible price if it disobeyed their silent command.

No century has demanded such a high blood toll from the German people as ours. It has not made our tasks easy. We have had to pay dearly for the sins and omissions of our fathers and grandfathers, and because they indulged in the luxury of an individualistic and particularistic personal and state life, we now face tasks before which normal human strength often seems to despair. Nothing is given to us. History is without mercy or

compassion, and what a people lacked early on, it must make up for later through hard work and sacrificial struggle. It must settle its account with interest and compound interest, whether it wants to or not.

We are placed in a time that does not skimp on tasks or hard duties. And this time is short and precious. Despite the heavy sacrifices it demands from us daily, we must recognize it as a kind provision of fate. Wherever we look, we see mountains of problems we must overcome. The path is steep and dangerous everywhere, and nowhere is there a shady place where we can pause and rest. It is high time, and we must seize the moment; once it has passed, blessed by our struggle and effort, all possibility of reaching the summit is gone. We would be stuck halfway, unable to move forward or back. We know the ascent is rocky and hard; but no one must doubt that it must be conquered, for otherwise, all is in vain, and all is lost.

We lay our dead at the edges of the steep path. They fell in the front ranks, and all who march behind them must pass by them. Precisely where the path is most dangerous, their lives were extinguished. Like silent pointers, they indicate upwards. When we stand on the summit, we will adorn the path to the top with flowers; only then will the dead show us their friendliest and most transfigured face. They rest in the bosom of the nation when the work is completed, as they were completed. Then the new century will open its gates wide to grant us entry, and in the broad beam of light that falls upon us, the death of the unknown soldier, whose comrades dug his grave on a twilight evening after a hard-fought day, will shine in a distant, radiant glow. Thus, our fallen enter forever into the myth of their people; they are no longer what they were among us, but only the eternal symbols of our time.

But we still stand in the darkness of night. Only a few stars show us the way. It will be arduous and long, sparing us no effort. But we know a cool hour will come when the morning replaces it. Our dead already stand on the other side of life in its radiant light. We are the seekers; they are the perfected. They have fulfilled their time early, which still lies ahead of us with a thousand riddles and tasks.

When we walk through the mist, we feel the blessing and accompanying strength of the fallen soldiers within and around us. With a thousand hands, they pull us out of the worry of darkness and lead us into the light of the coming day that awaits us.

1943 New Year's Greeting to Our Soldiers

January 1, 1943

Today, as we transition to the New Year, I speak as the voice of the homeland to the front lines. On behalf of the entire German nation, I send our soldiers the greetings and thanks of our nation for a hard, battle-filled wartime life. This New Year's transition marks the end of a historic year of the highest order and the beginning of another equally significant year. The vastness of our warfare has extended the duration of the war beyond what many expected or believed in 1939. On countless battlefields, the German soldier, educated and hardened in the National Socialist doctrine and worldview, has proven his great fighting capabilities.

As the war expands, so do the problems we must solve, reaching immeasurable proportions. It is understandable that this also requires greater demands and sacrifices from the German people at home and our soldiers at the front. This is intrinsically linked to the need for an adequate historical reward that we aim to bring home as the fruit of victory for the entire German people.

We must repeatedly remind ourselves that this war was forced upon us. It is not an offensive war but, in the truest sense of the word, a national defensive war. Our enemies instigated it in response to our modest demand to reintegrate the German city of Danzig into the Reich and to grant us a corridor through the Polish Corridor that separated our homeland from the province of East Prussia. They cowardly attacked us in the midst of our National Socialist development, temporarily nullifying a political, economic, and social reform work of secular dimensions. The German people once again, as often in their history, had to fight for their lives, which were gravely threatened by the aggressive war of our traditional enemies. We had no choice between war and peace, only the choice to defend ourselves or to abdicate historically. There was no doubt that the National Socialist leadership of the Reich, along with the entire German people, decided to fight in the face of this historic decision.

We have been waging this war for nearly three and a half years. Historical victories that we could not have dreamed of in 1939, when the war began, have become reality. To appreciate what we have achieved, one must recall the Reich's situation back then. While in 1939, we had to operate from the confines of our homeland, threatened on all borders, the bravery of our soldiers and the Führer's genius in command have carried the war into territories that, aside from securing our Reich, provide us with an immeasurable potential for warfare. Today, we cannot be intimidated by wartime threats like those posed by the American Union during the First World War. The Reich possesses sufficient potential. The glorious victories achieved by our soldiers lay the groundwork for a warfare scenario that, compared to the First World War, we cannot imagine being more secure.

This war is a communal effort of the entire German people. Naturally, the front lines lead this communal effort. Without the successes and military victories they have achieved, the Reich would have been doomed. Thus, they deserve the highest honor and the grateful recognition of the entire German people, especially from those at home working for the front and continually demonstrating a spirit of sacrifice for it. The soldier pledges his life for the security of the German nation. He represents the pinnacle of national efforts and is entitled to the highest public recognition.

But the homeland has also fulfilled its duty. Workers, farmers, intellectuals, women, and children engage with idealism in this war, meeting its needs and demands, contrasting sharply with the home front's behavior toward the end of the First World War.

However, the continued overall performance of the German people in this war, at the front and at home, can only be sustained if it continues to spring from the unwavering sense of community and solidarity of the entire nation. Therefore, our goal for the new year is to maintain the unity of our people at the front and at home as a top political priority. This unity was destroyed in 1917 and 1918, leading to the Reich's collapse on November 9, 1918. Such a disgraceful event must never be repeated.

Our enemies are again trying to lead us astray with all means of seduction, addressing the German front and home front to undermine their leadership. Just as they fought against the Kaiser then, they now fight against

the National Socialist regime and its appointed leaders. It is every German man and woman's duty to be immune to such temptations. Resisting them resolutely is the German people's task, especially in critical times when our warfare faces greater strains than during the great offensives that adorned our soldiers' banners with triumphs. A nation aspiring for great historical success must not only achieve victories but also endure setbacks.

It is clear that, over three and a half years of war, the lifestyle at home increasingly differs from that at the front. This can sometimes lead to the soldier feeling somewhat alienated from the thoughts and feelings of the home front. While such a development arises from the war itself, its course, and duration, it is not overly tragic. But this is where the home front's work must begin. It must continually demonstrate through actions and achievements that it passionately supports the front soldier, strives to understand him, and does everything possible to ease his hard, deprived, and combative life. The war should not burden the front excessively because the home front bears too little burden. We must limit our needs at home as much as possible to increase contributions to the front.

On the other hand, it is also our duty to preserve as much of the life the front soldier left behind in 1939 and for which he fights, as can be maintained during the war. The front soldier's family lives at home, as do his parents, wife, and children. He must have the reassuring awareness that their existence is secured. Maintaining our artistic and cultural life, ensuring a secure economic existence, upholding a state order that cannot be tampered with, and maintaining strict discipline in our public opinion is essential for this sense of security for our front soldiers. This provides them with additional mental and physical strength. The joy of work at home is closely tied to maintaining public and private life to the extent war conditions allow. The home front willingly provides what the war demands from it. The state leadership requires the necessary sacrifices and deprivations from the home front. Nonetheless, life at home is more comfortable and pleasant in almost every respect than at the front.

The soldier on leave feels this with a certain astonishment, especially in the first days of his visit home. Much appears strange to him at home, not because it is contrary to wartime, but because it contrasts sharply with life at the front. It is only natural that front soldiers sometimes feel less friendly about this. However, the state leadership will ensure that this does

not lead to alienation between those at the front and those at home. The reasons for the glaring difference between life at the front and at home do not need to be detailed. But just as the home front understands the front, so must the front soldier strive to understand the home front. He must not become fundamentally unjust towards those at home because of his front-line mentality. The fact that the home front lives in greater security than the front is part of this war. But this home front also hosts the family and close relatives of the front soldier. They, too, benefit from this security. Moreover, the home front does everything it can for the front.

Front soldiers should not believe that their rightful jobs will be occupied when they return home after the war. Never before has there been a state leadership in Germany so connected to the front as the National Socialist one. Our care for war veterans, expressed in significant laws and decrees, is further proof of this. Similarly, we are determined to extend our help and protection to war participants after the war. They will receive priority everywhere. Those who fight have the first and foremost right to life and secure economic and professional advancement after victory. This was the case after the National Socialist revolution, and it will be the same after this war. There is no question that a long period of economic boom and social achievements will follow the war in Germany. We need not worry about the amount of work awaiting us. Just as the war started suddenly, it will one day suddenly end. The totalization of warfare only accelerates the war itself.

I need not discuss with front soldiers why we must persevere to a victorious end in this war. The difficulties we face are not more significant but rather minor compared to those our enemies face. This war is our great but also last historical chance. It offers us all opportunities for unparalleled national, political, economic, and social advancement. We embarked on the path to becoming a world nation in 1939 and will continue courageously and unwaveringly until we reach our goal. The war we are waging is not a war for throne and altar but a war for the security of our daily bread. Our post-war reconstruction program will benefit the German people, not a small class of war or post-war profiteers. Therefore, this war must end with such a thorough victory that it need not be repeated.

Thus, it is the task of the front and home front to achieve a complete victory this time. With these words for the New Year, I believe I speak on behalf of the entire home front. Neither at the front nor at home should

anything be neglected that leads to victory. We discuss our tasks and duties for the coming year without phrase or exaggeration. We must have the courage to face the harsh facts, neither deceiving nor embellishing anything. War is always a severe and cruel matter. But we must endure its inferno because our only alternative would be the national downfall of our people.

So, on this day of transition from one year of struggle to another, I send my greetings from the German homeland to our men and sons in the field. I wish you all the luck of soldiers for the coming year. It should take another significant and

decisive step towards final victory. The home front will do everything it can to contribute to this victory. But today, for an hour, it pauses to dwell in wistful yet proud thoughts with the front. The year ahead will spare us no trials or burdens. It will be intense, and we have every reason to keep our resolve firm when its storms rage around us. But we can also be reassured: nothing will shake our fighting spirit, and no one will tire in the face of the great duties awaiting us.

So, at this New Year's transition, we focus clearly and unwaveringly on the great goal for which we fight. We place the community as the source of our strength and our will to resist and attack above all else. The longer the war lasts, the more we must train ourselves in discipline and manly virtue. Only through a unified effort where everyone participates willingly and wholeheartedly can we achieve the great final victory.

I wish you, soldiers, as the speaker of the home front, good fortune and victory and, as a reward for your dedication and valor, the peace we all long for. Until then, we have a challenging and perilous path to traverse. But it will be overcome if we approach it with the tried and tested National Socialist spirit of combat and determination.

So, I call out to you for the coming year with the motto with which the great Prussian king greeted his soldiers at a decisive moment of the Seven Years' War: "In such a desperate time, one must equip oneself with iron guts and a heart of bronze to rid oneself of all sentimentality."

The Total War

January 17, 1943

The war we are waging is characterized, especially as it continues, by an ever-increasing totalization. What could initially be seen as a locally confined political and military event has now become a global struggle, where not just parties, armies, or ideologies, but entire nations are fighting for their existence. Whoever loses this war will have to step down from the stage of fate-determining powers; whoever wins will become the ultimate master of their own destiny.

Sometimes, it seems that we Germans have not yet fully realized this in its entirety. We still partly live in peacetime notions. However, it is no longer about preserving as much of peace as possible during the war, but rather about harnessing all our strengths to secure victory and thus reclaim complete peace. We must decide on this. The more radically and totally we wage the war, the faster we will achieve its victorious end. And since this war is being waged by our enemies against the entirety of our people, no one has the right, out of selfishness or personal interest, to exclude themselves from its efforts. The times are over when one part of the nation could wage war while the other watched. A people's war—and the one imposed on us is such a war in the truest sense of the word—must be carried and waged by the entire nation. Just as it would destroy all of us if we lost, it will bless and uplift all of us if we win.

We often speak and write about this inevitable and harsh necessity. But do we all and always act accordingly? Unfortunately, this question must be answered negatively for a small part of our people. This part still lives past the war and its tasks and worries, claiming the right to obey neither its legal nor its moral imperatives. This creates a disparity of duties that is unbearable and provocative for the entire nation. Even in wartime, the government is unable to codify all civic duties into law. Much must be left to the decency, insight, and patriotic feeling of individuals. For example, it is almost impossible to legally determine who may still travel by train today or who is entitled to a place in a winter resort and who is not. Therefore, it appeals to the reason and goodwill of the people. The vast majority comply with this

moral appeal. However, a small minority sees it as an opportunity to exploit it for personal gain. Because the diligent and decent—always the same people—give up their well-deserved vacations, some lazy people and parasites take even longer vacations. They crowd the trains, loaf around in winter resorts, gossip about the latest rumors, lament that they can't dance, and take farmers' butter and sausages.

This must stop! Our decent people do not want to have their good reputation discredited by such idlers.

How can the hundreds of thousands of diligent Berliners tolerate a few hundred fancy folks, who happen to also be from Berlin, escaping the war in winter resorts and making a propaganda for the capital city that is anything but honorable? These are the same contemporaries who view the war not as a struggle for our national and individual survival but merely as a bothersome interruption of their continuous amusement. They generally respect the National Socialist state only as far as it benefits them, contribute reluctantly and inadequately to the Winter Relief, avoid community duties, perhaps even blame the government for the weather, find the OKW report boring, and only listen to the radio when it plays dance music. Heaven knows where they still get their butter and eggs, fabrics, shoes, and clothes, but they get them. They live almost as if in peacetime while we wage war, including for them.

We hope the whole nation will believe us when we say we have the greatest understanding for the war-induced hardships of the working masses in towns and countryside. If we don't talk about it often, it's because we have to deal with it so much in daily practice. But we have no patience for the minor complaints of these parasitic idlers. They are useless. They steal God's time. Their hearts and brains are completely empty. They do not deserve to live in great times because they do not understand them. We wouldn't even consider them worth mentioning if they didn't set such a bad example and gradually demoralize many decent and hardworking citizens. Because not only virtues but also vices are contagious, and in no case should it come to the point where those who faithfully and diligently do their duty are considered foolish in the end, and those who manage to avoid it are seen as paragons of cleverness. It's naturally more pleasant to live comfortably and watch the war from a distance. If there were a way to exclude those who flee from the duties of war from the benefits of the coming victory, then we could

discuss it. But since that's not possible, we must conclude that since everyone will eventually enjoy the victory, everyone must also obey the demands of the war.

Today, we must ask a certain part of the front, particularly those fighting on the front lines, to bear a lot; a small part of the home front, particularly those watching from the back lines, are asked to bear very little. This is the problem. Since we cannot lessen the burdens of the aforementioned part of the front, we must increase the burdens of the aforementioned part of the home front to achieve a certain balance of wartime duties. This is necessary, especially since in the fourth year of the war we face much more difficult tasks than in the first, and we must ensure that public wartime morale remains clean and intact. We are fighting in the East against a system that has intensified and perfected the totality of war to the point of barbaric cruelty. We can only be superior to the onslaught of Bolshevism in the long run if we, as far as possible and feasible, fully exploit our own potential.

No special wishes or personal interests can be considered here. Just as we once gave to peace what was due to peace, we must now give to war what is due to war. The community demands that the soldier sacrifice his life for its survival and continuity. How could it not demand that every part of the home front submit to the harsh necessity of war and not claim rights that may have been due in peacetime but have no place in wartime?

During the Christmas season, we received countless letters of approval and gratitude from all parts of our nation. The writers mostly stated that they could not understand how the government managed to provide such a rich fourth wartime Christmas and drew comparisons to 1917 that were very flattering to the National Socialist wartime administration. One can see from this that the regime is doing everything to make the war as bearable as possible for the people, but only insofar as it does not harm the war effort itself. We do not demand the slightest thing that is not absolutely necessary, and rather too little than too much. But what we demand must be adhered to, by everyone. No one can expect the government to take undue consideration of their personal selfishness and show them leniency that harms the cause. This is also entirely inappropriate for educational reasons. Those who are too coddled, as Nietzsche says, eventually suffer from their coddling. And it is by no means the case that those who experience the least of the war are the most

positive about it, and those who are most affected by it complain the most. On the contrary, exactly the opposite is true: on the front lines, there is only fighting; the few in the home front who do not want to notice the war are also the most susceptible to it.

We know that the London propagandists will seize upon this statement like ivy on an oak. That does not deter us from making it. The few irresponsible idlers among us deserve nothing less than to be protected by the English. They could not make their case better if they were paid by our enemies. But why should we spare them just because they are advocated for in London? Referring to them as wartime opposition gives them too much honor. They are simply lazy and negligent of duty; this has nothing to do with ideology. They would be recognized in their entire insignificance on the enemy side if it were known with what contempt the German people regard them. They are the dregs of our wartime life; they hold no political value whatsoever.

Moreover, such phenomena exist in all warring countries, with the difference that they do not lead or govern here. They have condemned themselves to mere spectatorship by their own behavior. Otherwise, they resemble the corresponding layer in England and the USA, for example, like one egg resembles another. They think only in social, not national or even popular terms. They completely lack the power of endurance. Just as they want to change their menu and amusements daily, they also change their sympathies and antipathies, even their opinions and views daily. They often call themselves conservative but are anything but that. They represent the most unstable element of the community, and if the people thought and acted like them, they would soon perish from a lack of self-preservation instinct. They have no understanding of a national struggle in which the survival of the people must be defended. They could perhaps still warm to a war that concerned their personal interests and would then have to be carried and conducted by the people. But a war for the life of the people itself, waged by the people as a whole with the determination to let its victory benefit everyone, especially those most in need of it, is repulsive to them. That's what the Nazis learned from Bolshevism!

We have neither learned it from them nor is such a thing pursued in the Soviet system. There, war is waged through the brutal exploitation of the people's strength for the benefit of a small usurping, mostly Jewish leadership

class. With us, however, the war is a matter for the entire people. Just as our enemies admittedly want to destroy us as a people, we as a people resist with all available means. The fighting and working community of this people has

the right to have all the nation's reserves mobilized for this. The more uncompromisingly it acts in this regard, the shorter it will shorten the war's duration and accelerate victory. Anyone who resists or even tries to evade it is prolonging the war and must be recognized and branded as such. We have no choice but to win, and it is in the interest of our national health and morale to use all available forces to reach the desired goal of a victorious peace as quickly as possible. Those who do not see this must be forced to understand. We do not believe that any decent patriot would object to this. So let's go all out!

We have often faced a similar necessity in the history of the National Socialist movement. At such times, we sometimes had to break through many obstacles and objections to achieve clarity in our decisions; and once we made them, it felt like a weight was lifted from our hearts. We did not seek this war; it was forced upon us. As it progresses, it has become a struggle for our existence. Everyone must know this. There is no longer a way back, only forward. We are dealing with opponents who will stop at nothing to deny us victory. We must withstand them with fanatical zeal in combat and work. If we had the tongues of angels, we would use them daily to make even the last person in our nation understand what is at stake for us in this war, and how close we are to victory if we put everything into it and do not waste a single minute to serve it.

We National Socialists once set out to conquer a Reich. We knew exactly that we were playing with our lives and that we would lose them if we lost the fight. This gave us the strength to win it. Today, as a people, we face the same alternative. This realization does not make us weak but strong. Only the feeling of being on our own conveys the consciousness of absolute and sovereign victory. The enemy wants to totally destroy us. So let us wage total war to achieve total victory.

Therefore, as Friedrich Nietzsche says, even the mildest in us must become the hardest. We must rise above ourselves, up and up, until we have even our stars beneath us.

The Optics of War

January 24, 1943

War also has its characteristic face. You can see it in many places at home and everywhere at the front. There are certain unmistakable features that clearly show that it is indeed wartime. Foreign observers often point out that during a brief visit, it is hardly possible to easily determine that the Reich is at war. This is indeed often the case. Today, an impartial observer walking through the streets of a large city, and even more so in a medium or small town, would hardly have the impression that we Germans have been fighting for our lives for three and a half years. People still look relatively well-groomed and reasonably well-fed, their clothing and footwear are generally in good condition at first glance, the streets are clean, and apart from the bombed cities, they are in good condition, and cinemas, concert halls, and theaters are overcrowded. Although there is hardly anything significant left to buy beyond the actual necessities of life in department stores and luxury shops, they try to maintain the appearance of an orderly supply of goods through some effort and skillful displays. In short, the outward appearance of the war at home is not such that everyone can immediately see that everything is at stake.

In part, we maintain this impression for the sake of appearance, and that is acceptable, but in part, it is genuine, which is less commendable. In many respects, we still lead a life at home that is anything but appropriate for wartime. We do not want to engage in hair-splitting and propagate a lifestyle for the war that is based solely on outward appearances. As a people, we do not need to impose restrictions on ourselves that are of no practical value but would nonetheless psychologically make the deepest cuts into our entire attitude towards life, as well as our feelings and thoughts. For example, it would be completely wrong to close theaters, cinemas, and concert halls just to show that we are at war and that the seriousness of life must prevail everywhere. We do not need to seek out the seriousness of life in wartime; it finds us anyway. But when it approaches us, we must not evade it. If we can give the millions of our people at home and partly at the front some relaxation, edification, and also relaxation during this difficult time through the wartime maintenance of our cultural life, and the necessary effort does

not significantly detract from the overall war effort of our people, then it would be foolish and unforgivable to destroy a means of mental rest for the broad masses that provides more benefit than its elimination could bring advantages.

Therefore, we should not be misunderstood to be advocating a wartime lifestyle based on purely doctrinaire ideas. We are too close to the thoughts and feelings of our people to not know what they want and what they consider timely in the fourth year of the war and what they do not. Institutions that require only a little personnel and material but make the burdens of war somewhat easier for millions of people must not only be maintained but also preserved. For example, if radio, theater, and film give the entire German people relaxation and mental rest, and only a few thousand people are withdrawn from another war-important activity, which they would probably perform very imperfectly due to their entire disposition and education, then these institutions, which are also important for the war, should not be touched in the interest of the entire people. They are necessary even in the sense of a tougher total war concept and war effort. The best criterion here is the question of how much effort is required on the one hand and how many people can thereby make the war more bearable. Therefore, no one should suspect us of intending to organize a kind of iconoclasm. A flourishing German cultural activity in the midst of the war, in which the visual arts, theater, opera, concerts, film, press, radio, and literature experience an unprecedented development, provides a convincing alibi for the life-oriented views of the purposefulness on the one hand and the commitment of our civilian life in wartime on the other.

Here, however, the problem becomes more difficult. For in our public life, there are still a number of institutions that either promise no benefit to anyone or only to very few, but require a consumption of personnel and material that is completely disproportionate to the achieved effect. We all know that there are still many shops everywhere where you can practically hardly buy anything. When you enter them, you feel like landing on a lonely island in the middle of a stormy ocean. After much searching, you discover someone behind a counter who, when asked naively if there is still anything to buy, looks at you just as blankly as a member of a foreign tribe who only understands Swahili. For the superficial optics of war, it may seem useful and advisable to maintain such establishments and thereby create a certain impression. For the hard practice of war, they are useless and worthless. So,

let's give them a push, dissolve them and lead their personnel to more useful activities.

Everyone knows that only regulars get something to eat and drink in bars and gourmet restaurants. They can usually be counted on the fingers of a few hands. For every ten guests, there is one waiter. The non-regulars are just annoyed about it. They stand outside the door, find no place, and are angry. The optics of war dictate that we put an end to this hollow pretense. We have absolutely nothing against a refined lifestyle; but everything in its time. Today, in the midst of war, it is completely inappropriate. It no longer fits into the landscape. As much as we would like to remember it after the war, it is annoying to us today. So away with it!

We know that we will hurt a few thousand people with this. But we ask them to consider that today it is not only about maintaining the factual but also the psychological face of the war. A fighting community must observe and uphold certain rules of conduct, otherwise, the spirit of the corps suffers. Just as at the front the officer must be a role model in bravery but also in camaraderie to his men, so too must the better-off and socially higher-ranking person at home be in diligence and solidarity with the less fortunate. This has nothing to do with a sanctimonious attitude. Nothing is further from our minds than to advocate for dull equalization. But war has, by its own law, shaped a specific lifestyle that everyone must conform to if the community is not to suffer serious harm from a lack of national solidarity among all involved.

We have been told that in the bars of the few large cities that still maintain such establishments, a truly dismal life prevails. There is hardly anything left to drink. An elderly pianist strains a tired piano. The guests sit silently facing each other, as if ordered and not picked up, and try to play at being peaceful. Why the nonsense? The friendly pianist should be made available for troop support, the service personnel will certainly find useful employment in a war-important operation, perhaps in a canteen or a work cafeteria, and our soldiers on leave will surely be happy if they can spend the night in the vacated establishment instead of having to sit around in the drafty and inhospitable transfer stations waiting for the next connection.

One asks why the government does not order this. The government cannot issue a law for every grievance and every triviality, at least in relation

to the overall war effort. It must leave the development of the wartime lifestyle to the reason and insight of the people. It should be more the result of education than legality. One would not know where to start and where to stop. Individually, these matters are usually of very minor importance; collectively, however, they form what we call the face of the war. It is also very wrong to believe that by maintaining such a pretense, we can impress foreign countries. Nothing today has such a strong psychological effect on both friend and foe as the total and radical conduct of the war at the front and at home. When we have won, the whole world will be our friend; if we were to be defeated, we could count our friends on a few fingers.

We wish for a people whose attitude to life during the war is a mix of seriousness and calm, sometimes even cheerful composure. It should take the heavy things seriously but take the light things lightly. It must not close its eyes to the sacrifices of war, but it should not let them crush it either. It must always be aware that we are fighting the war for a great and noble cause and that everything that helps us in this is good and important for the war. The heavier the burdens of war become, the more solidly we must take them upon ourselves. Right now is the time when National Socialist teaching and education should become effective in and around us. We must proceed differently from the way we did in the world war: while the long duration of the war then increasingly alienated and estranged people from each other, it must bring them closer and closer together today. Only in this way will we master the growing difficulties. And they must be overcome, or we cannot reach our goal.

If we compare ourselves to other warring nations, no one would want to claim that we are demanding too much of the German people. There are neutral states where people live worse than we do today. The conditions in the hinterland of the Soviet Union are so horrendous, according to all eyewitness reports, that we seem to be living in a paradise by comparison. So, we must not complain. It could be much worse, and we would still have to hold out because we have only the choice of fighting or losing our freedom and our lives. We have every reason to be grateful to fate for still allowing us so many opportunities to ease each other's burdens. But that is no reason to overdo it and maintain a wartime lifestyle for a certain class that does not differ much from peacetime. Unfortunately, some of us too easily forget that overcoming the danger of an immediate threat to our borders has not also

eliminated the overall danger and that we still have a good deal of work left to do before we reach our goal. Therefore, we must keep pointing this out, even at the risk of repeating ourselves. The principles of our war effort remain the same; we cannot change them week by week just to bring something new. Rather, we see our task in making them the intellectual property of our entire people through constant repetition.

The daily preoccupation with the war too easily leads to a distraction from its fundamental theses. The often confusing polemics about its current events sometimes blur the intellectual lines of this world struggle and therefore occasionally push the principles behind it somewhat into the background. It is all the more necessary, however, to keep redirecting our gaze from the enervating daily work to these principles, as they form the basis of our intellectual approach to the war. We must already try today to see the war under the circumstances and in the light in which future historians will see it. Only then can we face its daily manifestations with the sovereign security and calm that they deserve. Our stance towards the war thus becomes entirely unassailable and unshakable. We then experience the politics and warfare of the present as a piece of emerging history, in whose shaping we ourselves are directly or indirectly involved, indeed, we feel personally as a kind of active historical function.

However, this requires an inner and outer attitude toward the war that is above all doubt. It does not depend on the events of the day but sees itself enclosed in the great process of becoming in our time, which inexorably makes its way whether we want it to or not. As everywhere else in human life, so too here, the recognition of the connections is the most important prerequisite for the correct assessment of both the facts and the imponderables. It is sometimes just as important to know how the people perceive the significance of things as it is to see their true significance. In the people's war of the present, the psychology of warfare plays a decisive role; it is certainly of far greater importance than ever before in a war. Consequently, the optical image of our civilian life must not present a provocative contrast to the actual war but must largely harmonize with it. Only then can we feel like a modern wartime nation. Our opponents often emphasize the outward appearance of war, neglecting the facts. We, of course, emphasize the facts, sometimes neglecting the pure optics. This is a mistake that can and must be corrected. A few thousand people will be upset with us, but our people will

thank us. It will see once again that we not only talk about the people's war but actually wage it.

Neutral and even hostile foreign countries will recognize that we are determined to bring this war to a victorious end, no matter what the cost. It is not about maintaining peace but fighting to win peace. One must also be thorough in this endeavor. What we fail to do today in peace benefits the war. The most total war is the shortest. As it shapes our image, so we shape its image. Image and reality must align.

So let us wage war with all our might. It shall be the content of our struggle and work during the day and accompany us into the dreams of our nights. Then it stands as a hard duty over us, which we obey for the sake of the coming happier peace.

Führer, Command; We Follow!

Speech on the Tenth Anniversary of the Seizure of Power

January 30, 1943

It is not the first time that I speak from this place to the entire German people in a difficult hour of our national life. In the Berlin Sportpalast, we have experienced all the highs and lows of German political and, in wartime, military development over the past 15 years. The dangers that threatened the Reich during these eventful one and a half decades were clarified from this platform before the German people, but here, the decisive decisions for their resolution were also proclaimed before the whole nation. This hall has never seen a following that was discouraged or without hope. We have received many blows from our enemies during these fifteen years; but we have always responded with counterblows. Who does not remember the countless occasions when the party or the National Socialist state were caught in more or less severe crises, and their enemies believed they could finally triumph over them? They always triumphed too early.

Hostile men and forces, who today have completely disappeared from our memory, whose names and designations are hardly remembered, have confronted us in these fifteen years. Time has passed over them. But we have remained. We have overcome all dangers and crises. And just as it was in the past, so it will be in the present and in the future. We have never made it a habit to belittle or even deny emerging difficulties before the people. On the contrary, it was always a sign of our unbroken sense of strength to clearly outline every danger before our followers and the entire German people so that the party and our people could arm and prepare against it. It is always a question of inner self-assurance and fighting determination whether a movement or a people can deal with seemingly overwhelming difficulties. If they are ready and firmly determined to apply their entire inner and outer strength against them, they will always overcome them. Only if they capitulate to the dangers will they perish in them. But for us, it has always been a fixed and unshakable principle that the word capitulation did not exist in our vocabulary. We remain steadfast in this, and we will always remain steadfast!

When I speak to you from the podium of the Berlin Sportpalast on the tenth anniversary of the Führer's seizure of power, and over the airwaves to the entire German people, it fills me with deep emotion today. I am once again standing on this podium where history has been made. When we first entered this vast, spacious hall, a political arena of struggle was opened, in which the decisive confrontations for power in Germany were subsequently fought out. I do not know how many hundreds of times the Führer and we, his closest associates, have spoken to you, to the National Socialist movement in Berlin, and with far-reaching impact to the entire German people from this platform in bright and dark hours. Here the struggle for power in the Reich capital found its most vivid expression; here we experienced the thrilling hours of National Socialist battle enthusiasm, but also wild determination when dangers and difficulties loomed high before us. Here we gathered in times of severe strain and hardest willpower, when we had to assert ourselves against our opponents if they had struck us or brought us painful defeats.

As it was then, so it is today. From this podium, the incendiary political slogans went and go into the people, which united and unite the nation in a fanatical will to fight.

Once again, the German people find themselves in the midst of the hardest struggle for their fate. Their traditional enemies, with whom we so often had to contend, sometimes under the most hopeless conditions, but ultimately always victoriously until 1933, have once again united against us. The old, well-known enemy coalition has re-emerged, only that this gigantic struggle for our lives has now taken on intercontinental forms. Struggle was the slogan of the National Socialist movement from the beginning, and struggle has remained our slogan to this day. Just as nothing was given to us then, so nothing is given to us today. We have to conquer and work for everything ourselves.

In the hour of the current hardest battles in the East, the enemy once again believes they can triumph over us. The English and USA newspapers these days are reveling in a complacent security, as if plutocracy and Bolshevism were on the brink of achieving their goal. International Jewry rejoices. The enemy newspapers tell the most outrageous lies, claiming that a state of emergency has been proclaimed in Germany, the nation is falling

apart, and so on. I can state the facts: In Germany, there is only a state of total readiness of our people to concentrate all their forces on the war and on achieving victory. In this firm and fanatical determination, the entire German people are united. From the breadth and depth of our nation, the cry for the most total war effort in the broadest sense of the word reaches our ears. Just as we dedicated all our strength to gaining power before January 30, 1933, and thereby also came to power, so today we are firmly determined to dedicate all the strength of the nation to achieving victory. And we are firmly convinced that we will achieve it, faster than many might think.

From now on, we will miss nothing and do everything conceivable to speed up victory. It does not matter to us at all if our enemies do not take our determination seriously. Being underestimated by the enemy is always a good help in war. The results of our fanatical work will soon be known to the enemy side, faster than one might think, in the further course of the war.

As in the struggle for internal power, in this gigantic struggle, Jewry storms against us from two sides. Bolshevism sends its mass armies forward, and plutocracy rains a drumfire of lies and slanderous propaganda upon us. The struggle for our lives is approaching its dramatic climax. It is not only a fight for the freedom and security of the German nation but also a gigantic confrontation for the future fate of Europe and indeed of the entire civilized Western world.

This is the significance of January 30, 1943, the tenth anniversary of the National Socialist seizure of power. Twenty years ago, on November 9, 1923, the party suffered its most terrible catastrophe. Who speaks today of its consequences? It has made up for it through the most brilliant victory in our internal history. Today we stand under the sign of the heaviest struggle for the fate of our people on the battlefields. It is of almost symbolic significance that the young National Socialist state is subjected to this severe strain on the tenth anniversary of its internal victory.

It is clear why our enemies from all sides are desperately attacking the new Reich. They do not want to tolerate a people's state in Germany. That is the only reason why plutocracy and Bolshevism have forced us into this war. The democratic republic that emerged from the Treaty of Versailles was not attacked by the eternal enemies of the Reich because it was led only by their lackeys. It was weak and dishonorable. We had become a helot people,

without inner resistance, defenselessly exposed to the plundering attempts of our enemies.

National Socialism has changed this. What it founded internally, it must now defend externally and militarily. In this fight for being or not being, it is not about a form of government but about our national life. We have only the choice between a life of slavery and the life of a free people in a socialist community state. This war thus confronts us with the historical task of confirming externally and militarily what we fought for internally ten years ago.

I need not waste words on our fanatical determination to now exhaust and apply all the forces of the German people to the war of extermination against Bolshevism. The gigantic second winter battle in the East is the signal for the German nation to total war. The Soviet Union has been arming for twenty-five years to prepare this struggle militarily. Bolshevism turned people into war robots. When we issued the slogan in 1936: "Guns before butter!", Bolshevism has been outdoing it for twenty-five years with the slogan: "Social misery, hunger, and mass hardship, but based on that only weapons, guns, and armament!" We must defend ourselves against this abnormal military threat with all our national strength if we do not want to lose our freedom and national life. The German sword struck deep into the midst of Stalin's massive deployment. Today our troops are fighting deep in enemy territory. A whole continent lies threatening before us. We have brought a significant part of it into our hands through the triumphant victories of two summers. As in the last winter war in the East, we must elastically and under superhuman tests defend what we have conquered in this second winter war in the East. Once again, German soldierdom lies on the scales of the goddess of fate in its resistance and heroism.

Our trust in our soldiers is unlimited. They have been and are superior to the Bolshevik enemy. They defend the better cause with deeper belief. They have convincingly proven their superiority last winter. This winter, they are in a new defensive battle of unimaginable hardness. The superhuman strains and dangers they are exposed to have matured the home front to the last decisions. There is no one left at home who is not imbued with the fanatical will to be worthy of this fighting heroic front through their work and belief in victory.

The German leadership has openly presented the hardness and severity of this struggle to the people and the world. The home front responds with the firm will for the highest effort. Everyone at home now only asks what they can do to help our soldiers, protect the Reich, and win victory. In countless letters from all strata of our people, the cry for the most total war effort reaches our ears. Millions of still untapped or not fully tapped energies are ready to integrate into the vast war process of our civil life. Mobilizing them is the order of the day.

If the enemy believed they could discourage us with a few blows, they are very wrong. These blows have been and are only an alarm signal for us to total war, which we are now firmly determined to undertake.

Party and state will lead the way in the preparation for total war. Measures have been taken and will continue to be taken in the next few days to organize and practically implement the total war effort. The situation demands that we act quickly and ruthlessly. Our National Socialist party history is a single proof that we National Socialists can do this and always muster the strength when it is necessary. The party will, as always in great national destiny hours, be the motor of this grand transformation of the life and work of our homeland. Its revolutionary elan will determine the pace of this transformative process.

The leadership expects the entire people to not only carry out orders and laws but also to make themselves available for any necessary war work because they know they have been called to do so by the Führer. The war laws are binding for all, of course. No exceptions can be made. Whether high or low, rich or poor, in the life struggle of the German people, no one is too precious to bring their full strength and everything they possess to the effort. We have dealt with saboteurs of our war effort with the harshest penalties and will continue to do so. But they hardly deserve public branding as they are numerically insignificant. We only need to appeal to the idealism, fanaticism, and decency of the German people, and we have a following that encompasses the entire nation. So, when we step before the world on January 30 to proclaim our determination to continue this struggle with all necessary means until the victorious end on the tenth anniversary of our revolution, the world should know that our actions already stand behind our words.

We are in the midst of the dramatic decision of the historical confrontation of the 20th century. Our soldiers have accomplished tremendous feats. Tremendous tasks still remain for them. Under the unimaginable strains of a second winter war in the East, our heroic troops are fighting bravely, tenaciously, and fiercely through all dangers and superhuman difficulties. The Soviet Union throws masses of men and material against them that seem inexhaustible. We must hold our ground in this fight if the German people do not want to lose their lives. Again, this gigantic struggle is subject to many fluctuations and contingencies. We know this because we have experienced it too often in the time before the seizure of power, even if on a smaller scale. But we also know that if a people of fighting-determined men and women are ready, no matter the cost, to stand up for their great goal and fight for it, they will ultimately achieve it. Crises and fluctuations come and go. But a nation that bravely, courageously, and unwaveringly paves its way upward remains forever.

The same opponents as back then face us today. They use the same methods to deceive and overcome us. The same crises and anxieties as back then fall upon us; but at their end will once again be the same victory.

This war is a national defense war. It has been forced upon us by our enemies. They want to defeat us to reduce us to the status of a slave people again. There is only one remedy against this: iron will to defend. The fight must and will be endured. In the end, we firmly and unbreakably believe, the great victory awaits us. This winter will also end. The Führer is leading the gigantic defensive battle in the East. Even though it proceeds under the most difficult circumstances, we place our firmest and most faithful trust in his leadership and the historically proven bravery of our soldiers.

Just as we have often succeeded in overcoming the hardest strains, so we will succeed this time, and once again, the philosopher's word will be proven to us that what does not kill us makes us only stronger. The Führer turns to the German people in a proclamation on this historic remembrance day. From his headquarters, he directs his appeal to the nation. For me, in this memorable hour, it is a proud honor to read the Führer's proclamation to the entire German people.

It contains everything we need to know at this hour and the orders the German people have been waiting for impatiently. Here we find the

slogans of the struggle and wild determination that lift our hearts and strengthen and uplift our spirits. The German nation now knows what it has to do. A fighting and war-ready people now return to their places of struggle and work.

More faithfully than ever, we want to feel obligated to the Führer, especially in these fateful hours. Recently, an English journalist asked where we National Socialists always draw the strength to believe so strongly and unshakably in the certainty of victory amid all the fluctuations of war fortune. I want to give the questioner our National Socialist answer:

We National Socialists believe in victory because we know our people, from whom we come. We believe in victory because we are convinced that this people, with proper political leadership, will overcome every danger and every strain. We believe in victory because we know the inexhaustible material and spiritual resources and reserves of this people, which we have awakened, built up, and organized ourselves. We believe in victory because our enemies are not unknown to us, because we know exactly what in their threats and boasts is pretense and what is reality. We believe in victory because we have already dealt with these enemies once. Back then, it sometimes seemed to us that our cause was hopeless; but in the end, we always found we were stronger than them if we just used our strength and trusted faithfully and loyally in the Führer.

But above all, we believe in victory because the German nation knows what is at stake this time. It surrounds itself in these hard tests of its political and military character with a steel armor against all enemy insinuations and temptations. They do not reach its iron heart.

We are determined to remain steadfast and work and fight relentlessly until victory is in our hands.

Is it necessary among Germans and especially among National Socialists to still cite the last and most convincing argument for our unshakable belief in victory? We believe in victory because we have the Führer. He has led us National Socialists from 1919 to this hour. Through what dangers have we not passed with him, and we were always victorious in the end! How many blows have we not received in the struggle for a new Germany, but how many blows have we not also returned! The proud chain

of our historical successes from 1919 to this hour is a single convincing proof of the deep justification of our unshakable belief in the total final victory of the German people and their allies over the tyranny of international plutocracy and the insolent threats of Jewish Bolshevism.

So, when we look at the Führer today, we see in him the sure guarantee of this coming final victory. What do political fortune seekers like Churchill, Roosevelt, or Stalin mean compared to his historical appearance? We know very well that the world-deciding confrontation of this war will be between the National Socialist Reich and the Bolshevik Soviet Union. It was the same in the struggle for power. Until the day of the seizure of power, we had to fight the Communists, and long after that too. And things were always touch and go. But then finally came the long-awaited, blissful hour when the goddess of history rewarded us for all our efforts and sorrows, for all our courage and for all the dangers we had endured with the laurel of victory.

Who knows when and where we will be called to the final decision in this war! The more firmly we believe in its victorious outcome, and the more fanatically we fight and work for it, the more certain it will be ours.

National Socialists and National Socialist Women!

On this day, we gather with the entire German people in faithful trust around our Führer. Above all, his old guard expresses to him today from the bottom of their hearts the deepest feelings of their veneration, their blind trust, but also their fervent, indelible gratitude. He has led us through the perils of these tumultuous times. He has raised the Reich from nothing back to a great power. It would be trampled on the ground if he had not come and called us to our senses. Because he leads us today, we see the path to victory open.

So, on the tenth anniversary of our revolution, in this dramatic hour of our gigantic struggle against our old enemies, at the memory of our inner elevation, we make only one plea to the Almighty: to keep the Führer healthy and full of strength and determination. We know that we will then overcome all dangers and ultimately achieve victory and peace.

Faith moves mountains. This mountain-moving faith must fill us all. It drives us to work and fight for the people and the Reich.

At the place where I now stand and speak to the German people, the word was first spoken before our old guard in difficult and critical times of need, which has faithfully accompanied us all the following years up to this hour. Today it stands again as a reminder and demand over us and our readiness. Again, a time of strain and highest effort has come upon the Reich and the people. More than ever, it is necessary to direct the nation's eyes to the man who embodies our fanatical determination, our unbroken will to fight, and our deep faith.

So, I call out to the Führer in the name of the entire German people on the tenth anniversary of the inner elevation through our revolution for the hardest struggle for our external freedom our old slogan as confirmation of our readiness for anything: Führer, command, we follow!

We rise from our seats. With us, the entire German people rise in reverence for their heroes and greet the Führer at this moment of fanatical will to fight with our old greeting: Adolf Hitler — Sieg Heil!

Looking Ahead

January 31, 1943

The war is speeding towards its dramatic climax, perhaps faster than we realize. The colossal struggle for our existence has entered a phase where we can no longer afford to close our eyes to the necessities arising from the general situation. We Germans have long since bid farewell to all illusions, some with sorrow, others with anger and resentment. Yet, we all agree that we must do something extraordinary beyond what has been achieved so far to reach the long-desired goal of a victorious peace as quickly and thoroughly as possible. Only those completely out of touch with the times and their development fail to see this. They bask in the belated glow of the past peace without having the courage to fight for the light breaking forth from the dawn of the rising morning. These people are irrelevant to shaping and forming the times. The eternal fighters for Germany have taken the stage again, at the front and at home; they determine the course of German politics and warfare both internally and externally.

The general political climate is becoming harsh and relentless once more. Anyone still dreaming of easy victories or waiting for a miracle has not understood what is at stake now. The difficulties arising from the prolonged duration of the war, both at the front and at home, have opened our eyes to the necessary hard decisions that have already been made or still need to be made. The new burdens we voluntarily impose on ourselves in our struggle to preserve and expand our national life are heavy and once again deeply affect each of our lives; thus, they must be distributed fairly to be bearable. It is better for the nation to go in patched clothes for a year than to be in rags for a century. We must give up the last remnants of a comfortable life to defend the life of our people and expand and secure it through the coming victory so that it can never again be threatened or shaken. We possess much more strength than we seem to know today, certainly more than we are currently applying to give the war its decisive turn. Certain parts of our people have spared themselves too much so far and have been enfeebled by this sparing. The harsh wind blowing in our faces will soon blow away these daintinesses. The sooner we realize this, the better for all of us.

Today, every German male and female from the ages of 16 to 65 and from 17 to 45, respectively, is legally obliged to contribute their labor and efforts as a personal contribution to the war and thus to victory, corresponding to a commandment of national morality. In other warring countries, this has long been the case. We have postponed it so far because we did not absolutely need it. Now, however, it has become unavoidable, and therefore it will be ordered. We do not believe that there is anyone who intends to evade the categorical imperative of this national duty. Besides, we do not hope that a man or woman, in light of the immense sacrifices the front must make daily, would seriously resist gladly and willingly responding to the state's appeal. That is the least we can and must demand from every German: that they at least make their labor available to the community in its darkest hour. Any attempt to evade this would be unforgivable and would disgrace anyone attempting it with an indelible mark of shame. So, if someone thinks they can present a meaningless certificate from their family doctor to the employment office instead of their labor, they not only misunderstand the seriousness of the compelling necessity we all face but also the degree of determination with which we will address such desertions from our community.

The heavier our burdens in the war become, the more justly we must distribute them and the more solidarily we must bear them. No one has the right to claim a personal freedom whose loss means nothing compared to the remotest possibility that we might lose our national freedom. And that is what is at stake. There is no point in beating around the bush, and nothing would be more harmful than if we were still trying to deceive each other in the fourth year of the war with its enormous burdens for the whole nation. We must have the courage to see things as they are. The war is in its harshest phase, and it demands from us a readiness that cannot be surpassed. All great things in this world are exposed to various dangers and crises in their making, and their greatness is shown by how they overcome these, wherever they may arise. We do not draw the strength for this from the lethargy of a dull existence; it must grow from our will, and where it does not live in us unconsciously, we must cultivate it consciously. It would be irresponsible to continue subjecting the front to superhuman burdens while granting a part of the homeland a very untimely sparing. The front would not understand this, and it would only harm that part of the homeland.

We know that the measures taken and those yet to be taken deeply interfere with the lives, sometimes even the family lives, of individuals. That is very unfortunate but unavoidable. Other warring nations bear much heavier burdens and accept them. Should we conjure up acute dangers over the Reich through negligence just because our leadership does not possess the same amount of civil courage as theirs? No one can demand or even expect that from us. Moreover, millions of women have been working in the German economic process on various sectors for years, whose husbands are at the front and who also take care of a bunch of children at home. They have the right to demand from us that they do not bear all the burden alone but that those who have done little for the war so far are appropriately involved. If anyone among us does not want to understand this, they can only be pitied. But we will take no account of them in any way; the time is not right for that.

The harshness of the wartime attitude in individuals is not only a matter of character but also of upbringing. People who see the meaning of existence only in enjoyment will find it very difficult to muster the will to act. While one may be inclined in peacetime to consider their particular predisposition to comfort, this will not be the case in wartime. Do not tell us that our soldiers do not like to see German women working at home. Our soldiers want the victory to be accelerated, and by all means. A true soldier's wife will therefore not only not resist a total war effort at home but will wholeheartedly support and participate in it. Every contribution she makes in her daily work is a service to the fighting front. Her husband, her son, or her brother out there will only thank her for it. We must provide the Führer with an operational reserve for upcoming actions that are fully capable of meeting all the war's demands, and those men and women not yet involved in the work process must immediately take the place of the soldiers going to the field. This is simply a law of solidarity and national decency, and we would be very mistaken about our people if we believed there could still be any discussion about this self-evident truth.

What are our men fighting for out there? Mainly for their fatherland, and in their smaller circle, for their wives and children. They know exactly what would threaten them if they failed. This above all gives them the strength to endure and fight through unimaginable daily hardships and win the battle. At home, we fulfill only a basic duty of gratitude when we stand by them and do everything we can to contribute to the acceleration of victory.

We must be clear that parts of the homeland have so far only talked about total war in some respects. We still sit in warm rooms, have a roof over our heads, lie in made beds at night, have food and drink, and occasionally a little distraction through radio, film, theater, or reading. We read the OKW report daily, talk about war and the clamor of war, often without any heart palpitations, many still regularly go on weekend outings, and if there are no candles on the Christmas tree, they make a fuss. What does all this have to do with total war? At the front, they would be happy if even one of these self-evident living conditions at home applied there. We want to overcome our enemies and not be overcome by them. Therefore, we must not only be superior to them in arms and leadership, in the quality of soldiering and in the generous organization, but also in the total conduct of the war and its duties and tasks. We are far too ambitious and jealous to admire anything about the enemy. We do not just want to match him; we want to surpass him in every respect. Here lies the path to victory. One must not believe oneself superior to the enemy out of arrogance; one must be superior to him.

We have all the necessary means. We just need to want it. We must be filled with a passionate national fanaticism, and the more difficult the situation, the more resolutely we must face it. Fever chills are not overcome by resigning to them but by fighting against them. Nothing is more dangerous than lethargy and a dull self-satisfaction, which only leads to missing the best opportunities and being left behind in the end. Where in history is there an example of a new great empire emerging from a series of easy victories involving only part of the people? It usually requires a completely different effort, and those who cannot muster it and constantly increase it will be found unfit by history and dismissed. Where is it written that victorious peace will be given to us as a gift, and who has allowed anyone to not participate in its concerns but to partake in its coming blessings? Let us not delude ourselves and have the courage to face things, even if they are uncomfortable. We will soon feel how strong their blessing force stands behind all the dangers they harbor. A cool sense of reality helps to overcome all inner temptations, and we have never experienced that a recognized threat could still frighten us; it loses its dark face as soon as you approach it.

When we were forced into this war in September 1939, we knew that we now had to fight for our lives. We have never hidden that. We have constantly tried to show this to our people and have never missed an opportunity to point out the harshness of the upcoming decisions. Our

optimism has always been of a thoroughly realistic nature and remains so to this day. We have never been ecstatic and never were we despondent. We have consistently shown those who listened to us the path to duty and always emphasized that it would still take immense sacrifices and efforts to reach the goal.

But we firmly believed in the goal, believe firmly in it, and will continue to believe firmly until we achieve it. In dark and bright hours, we pointed to our great historical examples and demanded that the nation emulate them to overcome all dangers. How many valleys have we crossed, and what heights have we climbed! The fickle fortune of war has caressed and chastised us as it pleased, and we have only tried to cope with it. We have always succeeded so far, and we will always succeed in the future. We just need to maintain equanimity in fortune and misfortune. A great time in historical evaluation is measured much more by how it handles fateful events than by how it endures victories. Frederick II of Prussia was admirable in his triumphs but was above all human measure in enduring setbacks. Through Rossbach and Leuthen, he became Frederick the Great; through Kunersdorf, he became Frederick the Unique.

What he was for his century, we must be for ours. Only a generation of iron will withstand the storm of our time. It must have entrails of iron and a heart of steel. Its courage must be unwavering. It must go its way, brave and upright like the knight against death and the devil, looking forward, no matter what happens beside or behind it.

When a people carry this spirit in their hearts, they are immune to any danger. Then crises are only tests, and behind them already stands the great relief from all worry and concern. There is only one sin, says the philosopher, and that is cowardice. Therefore, let us be brave-hearted!

The Hard Lesson

February 7, 1943

Our soldiers are fighting in the East in a battle that has shattered all previous notions of war. It takes place in a space that no longer corresponds to the dimensions of a country but already to those of a continent, and under conditions that seem to be drawn from a barbaric age. The animalistic savagery of a primitive race, mixed with the terrorist theories and practices of a fundamentally life-hostile doctrine and worldview, has been unleashed upon us. One cannot even begin to imagine the consequences for our country and Europe, indeed for all of Western humanity, if our resilience fails. As long as this battle mainly took place in the same territorial area this winter, some people could still claim the right to watch from a distance without a heavy heart. Today, that is different. We are facing a danger that we must break; otherwise, we would lose our national and, in millions of cases, our individual lives. One must recognize the deepest meaning of the National Socialist Revolution, whose tenth anniversary we celebrated on January 30, in its timely sharpening of our senses and readiness of our hands and hearts for this world battle, which had previously been playing out behind the scenes but has now been brought onto the visible stage of great politics and national life defense. If it had not done so, the Reich and with it all of the West would have stumbled cluelessly and without any means of defense into an unforeseeable catastrophe.

The almost legendary struggle for the city of destiny, Stalingrad, is the most eloquent symbol of the deeper problems of this struggle for the future of our continent, even in its lonely silence. The men of the 6th Army will be admired and revered for all time in history as the vanguard of Europe in its defense against the steppes. Their heroes fell for everything we hold dear, and they gained eternal life in death. The German nation bids them farewell with sorrow and grief, but also with pride and a commitment to action that shall be unparalleled. There are events in the history of a people that transform from the deepest tragedy into lasting strength in a relatively short time. The heroic struggle for Stalingrad is one such event. One will never again speak of sacrifice under the most overwhelming conditions and silent heroism without thinking of the 6th German Army, which remained

true to its oath on the Volga to hold back the storm from Asia, at least until their comrades had established new defenses. This is the great lesson that will henceforth stand above the battle of giants in the East.

One would have to despair of our people to assume that this heroic-tragic event would pass us by without leaving deeper traces. It may be that in previous weeks and months, when we emphasized the fateful significance of the struggle in the East with all seriousness, some listened with only half an ear. We were doing too well even in the war to believe in the possibility of a severe destiny. Our soldiers won victory after victory, spoiling public opinion in such a way that any real measure of it seemed to be lost. Now we suddenly see one of the dark sides of war emerging before us. We have the choice to accept it indifferently and without a profound lesson for all of us or to draw conclusions that will determine our entire life in war from now on. We are entering a time that will place the hardest demands on all of us. The war itself is experiencing its critical stage, and we will only master it if we apply all our national strength to this effort.

Prussian-German history offers enough examples to prove to the world that our material and moral resilience is sufficient to deal with such difficulties. We have no intention of even making the slightest attempt to trivialize the stirring events in the East. They have been brought to the knowledge of our people in all their severity, not only for the sake of truth but also because we feel strong enough to overcome the crisis and even draw additional strength from it for achieving the final victory. Clausewitz writes in his book "On War" that there is no glorious enterprise in it that was not brought about with infinite effort, toil, and distress. If the weakness of the physical and mental man is ready to give in, only great willpower can lead to the goal, manifesting itself in an endurance admired by the world and posterity. We now stand before the compelling necessity of this willpower and endurance.

It would, of course, be cheap to expect everything extraordinary that seems capable of mastering the situation from the leadership. The leadership can only apply and expend as much strength as the people provide. That this strength is still sufficiently present in our own emotional, intellectual, and material potential requires no proof. We have so far used it often for purposes that were not necessary for the war, let alone decisive for it. We must now rapidly convert it under the pressure of events for war-important purposes,

and not only on a large scale but also on a small scale. Time is pressing; the days and weeks we could lose today would already be lacking tomorrow. The situation no longer allows us to approach the general problem of our war effort in a cumbersome bureaucratic process; we must act quickly and thoroughly. From thousands of letters from all sections of our people, the cry for total war reaches our ears. The people want to see deeds, and if these can only be accomplished in a longer period through the administrative exploitation of our internal potential, then one must try to get by with improvisations until then and ask for the active cooperation of the people as compensation. They will willingly make themselves available. The people no longer want to be spared. They know the harsh truth and are determined to act accordingly.

We find it necessary to spur those who are still hesitating and unwilling to make decisions due to internal inhibitions. This has always been the way we National Socialists have conducted ourselves. Last winter, with the active cooperation of the people, we accomplished an improvisational feat at the height of the crisis in collecting wool for the front, which experts had previously deemed utterly impossible; and yet it succeeded because the people helped. Although some minor injustice occurred here and there, justice was done to our soldiers who received their warm winter clothing in the barbaric frost of the East. Today, the front does not cry out for fur coats but for people. In the homeland, even those fit for war must be held back because their workplaces cannot be left vacant. Meanwhile, there are others who do little or nothing and only watch. They wait for the relevant laws, and once they are in place, they mainly occupy themselves with their interpretation, diligently and maliciously checking whether there might still be a loophole for them to escape through.

One must speak clearly to such contemporaries. In war, it is not only what the law commands but also what personal duty dictates. If someone is willing, they will find war-important work and the opportunity to undertake it for themselves. If someone feels superfluous or not fully utilized in their position, they should make their way to their superior, report, and ask for full employment here or elsewhere. If someone feels that their shop is just a façade, they should not wait for the state to dissolve it but apply for its closure, seek an appropriate settlement, and report to the nearest employment office. Even if they only have three employees they have been carrying along, they could potentially free up four soldiers for the front in a short time,

including their own person. If this happens everywhere, the uncountable few will become many, and in total, it will result in an army of millions that can be deployed not only to halt the assault from the East but to finally repel it. Why so many questions? Act, act! And quickly! Those who give quickly give twice.

Many of us do not bring the necessary understanding to this internal adjustment because they still think in terms and categories that are past and overcome. They cannot even imagine wartime life. They consider things of civilization indispensable that were unknown twenty years ago, let alone a hundred years ago. They would be quickly forced to give up not only these but also some additional things if we did not have the strength to bring the war to a victorious end. Everything we sacrifice in comfort is converted into tanks; the more, the better. This starts in the household of the individual and ends in the household of the state.

There is thus a sure path to victory. We only need to take it. However, we must not stumble over trifles or apply standards to the decisions to be made that might have been appropriate in peacetime but seem downright ridiculous in wartime. The more rigorously we control ourselves, the greater the effect will be. If someone believes that their personal contribution does not matter because they only have little to bring, they are very mistaken. There will be hardly anyone in the whole people who can do nothing more. Of course, those who have done the least so far must make the greatest sacrifices. But no one may exempt themselves from the enormous internal conversion process. If, for example, a woman with a child has a servant, she should either go to work herself or give up the servant, even if the legislator does not expressly command it. If an adult daughter is only half utilized in her employment, the mother should already ensure proper wartime work. The father should not naturally expect that when he comes home from work in the evening, a cozy home awaits him as in peacetime. He should consider that his wife is also making herself useful in the war service and that his small sacrifice of comfort does not weigh at all compared to the sacrifices our soldiers have been making for years under hellish conditions in the East.

With our Axis partners, we practically control almost the entire continent today. Its immense potential is only modestly exploited, while it fights for its life. If we were to allow the crisis to worsen, if we were reckless and conscienceless enough to close our eyes to this threat, fold our arms, and

believe that everything would straighten itself out again, Europe would deserve nothing less than to be obl

iterated. This fate is what the Soviet Union has in store for us. Even the neutral world, which often spoke of our struggle in the East with only malicious criticism, even with the greatest contempt, as long as it took place at a respectful distance from their borders, is now beginning to take notice. The danger that was believed to have been finally banished by the German Wehrmacht reappears, not only for us but also for our friends and even for our open and covert enemies. Besides us, there is no one left to protect Europe. If the tragic possibility arose that the German Wehrmacht could no longer withstand the storm from the East, our continent would lie at the feet of Bolshevism. Perhaps there are even some clear-thinking men in London who have an idea of what this would mean for England. Ideas need no convoys to cross the Channel; they fly through the air. We do not say this to frighten or seek understanding where none is to be expected, but only to state facts.

Recently, in the capital of a former Baltic state, GPU lists were found with the names of persons to be liquidated immediately upon occupation of Germany and other European countries. They include virtually everyone of any rank and importance in administration, the military, art, science, the economy, municipalities, and other public life on our continent. If one imagines the bearers of these names removed from Germany and Europe, only a leaderless mass remains in all countries, over which international Jewry could establish its unrestricted rule. That is the intent and purpose. Behind the Red Army march the liquidation commands, behind them comes mass terror, and behind that, hell. This must be said with all clarity, especially to those who still refuse to understand and dismiss it with the cheap wisdom that nothing is eaten as hot as it is cooked. Europe today has every reason to rally around the Axis powers. There is no salvation for our continent other than through them.

This struggle is an honor for the German people but also a tragic burden. It stands before us as a binding legacy after the hard lesson of Stalingrad. We must fight through it and win it. There is only one path to victory, the path of our own strength. If we bravely and unwaveringly follow it through the turns of fate, one day we will cross the finish line, heavy-hearted and with wildly pounding hearts. Then the effect of the good

principles will be evident, which Clausewitz says never proceed as regularly as one thinks, but even in unfortunate cases, when one believes to have entirely lost their influence, they unexpectedly reappear.

Rise Up, People, and Let the Storm Break Loose!

Speech at the Berlin Sportpalast

February 18, 1943

It has been nearly three weeks since I last spoke to you and the German people from this place, on the occasion of reading the Führer's proclamation on the tenth anniversary of the seizure of power. The crisis currently gripping our eastern front was then at its peak. On January 30 of this year, we gathered under the harsh blow of misfortune that had befallen our nation in the battle for the Volga, for a rally of unity, solidarity, and firm determination to overcome the difficulties this fourth year of the war has brought before us.

It was deeply moving for me, as I am sure it was for all of you, to learn a few days later that the last heroic fighters of Stalingrad, connected to us via the ether waves at that moment, had participated in our uplifting rally at the Sportpalast. They reported in their final message that they had heard the Führer's proclamation and perhaps for the last time in their lives, sang the national anthems with us with raised hands. What a display of German soldiery in this great time! But what obligation does this attitude impose on all of us, especially the entire German homeland! Stalingrad was and is the great alarm call of fate to the German nation. A people strong enough to endure and overcome such misfortune, indeed to draw additional strength from it, is invincible. The memory of the heroes of Stalingrad should therefore be a deep obligation for me and for all of us in my speech before you and the German people today.

I do not know how many millions of people, connected with us via the ether waves, are participating in this rally tonight, both at the front and at home, and are my listeners. I want to speak to you all from the deepest part of my heart to the deepest part of your hearts. I believe the entire German people are passionately engaged with the matter I am presenting to you tonight. Therefore, I will also equip my remarks with all the sacred

seriousness and open frankness that the hour demands of us. The German people, educated, trained, and disciplined in National Socialism, can handle the full truth. They know how difficult the situation of the Reich is, and its leadership can thus also call upon them to draw the necessary hard, indeed hardest, conclusions from the adversity of the situation. We Germans are armed against weakness and vulnerability, and the blows and misfortunes of war only give us additional strength, firm determination, and a spiritual and combative activity ready to overcome all difficulties and obstacles with revolutionary zeal.

Now is not the time to ask how it all came about. That will be left to a later accounting, which will be conducted in full openness and will show the German people and the world public that the misfortune that has struck us in recent weeks has deep, fateful significance. The great heroic sacrifice our soldiers made at Stalingrad has been of decisive historical importance for the entire eastern front. It was not in vain. Why will be proven by the future.

As I now direct our gaze beyond the recent past towards the future, I do so with full intention. The hour is urgent! There is no more time for fruitless debates. We must act, and act immediately, quickly, and thoroughly, as has always been the National Socialist way.

From its inception, the movement has proceeded in the many crises it had to endure and fight through. And the National Socialist state has also faced emerging threats with determined willpower. We do not resemble the ostrich that sticks its head in the sand to avoid seeing the danger. We are courageous enough to look it directly in the eye, measure it coolly and ruthlessly, and then face it with our heads held high and firm resolve. Only then did we as a movement and as a people always develop our highest virtues: a fierce and determined will to break and banish the danger, a strength of character that overcomes all obstacles, tenacious persistence in pursuing the recognized goal, and an iron heart that is armed against all internal and external temptations. So it should be today. My task is to present you with an unvarnished picture of the situation and to draw from it the hard consequences for the actions of the German leadership, but also for the actions of the German people.

At the moment, we are experiencing a severe military strain in the East. This strain has temporarily taken on larger proportions and resembles, if

not in its nature, then in its scope, that of last winter. We will discuss its causes at a later time. Today, we have no choice but to recognize its presence and to examine and apply the means and ways to remedy it. It is therefore pointless to deny this strain itself. I am too good to give you a misleading picture of the situation, which could only lead to false conclusions and lull the German people into a sense of security in their conduct and actions that would be entirely inappropriate for the current situation.

The onslaught of the steppes against our venerable continent has broken out this winter with a force that overshadows all human and historical concepts. The German Wehrmacht, with its allies, forms the only conceivable protective wall against it. In his proclamation on January 30, the Führer posed the serious and urgent question of what would have become of Germany and Europe if, on January 30, 1933, instead of the National Socialist movement, a bourgeois or democratic regime had taken power! What dangers would have befallen the Reich faster than we could have imagined at the time, and what defensive forces would have been available to us to face them? Ten years of National Socialism have been enough to fully enlighten the German people about the seriousness of the fateful problem arising from eastern Bolshevism. Now we also understand why we so often placed our Nuremberg Party Congresses under the banner of the fight against Bolshevism. Back then, we raised our warning voice to the German people and the world public to awaken Western humanity, which was afflicted by an unprecedented paralysis of will and spirit, and to open their eyes to the terrifying historical dangers arising from the existence of eastern Bolshevism, which had made a people of almost 200 million serve Jewish terror and was preparing it for a war of aggression against Europe.

When the Führer ordered the German Wehrmacht to attack in the East on June 22, 1941, we were all aware that this marked the beginning of the decisive battle of this gigantic world struggle. We knew the dangers and difficulties it would bring for us. But we were also clear that the dangers and difficulties would only grow with further delay and never diminish. It was two minutes to midnight. Further hesitation could easily have led to the destruction of the Reich and the complete Bolshevization of the European continent.

It is understandable that we did not correctly assess the military potential of the Soviet Union given the large-scale deception and bluff

maneuvers of the Bolshevik regime. Only now is it being revealed to us in its full wild magnitude. Accordingly, the struggle our soldiers have to endure in the East is harder, more difficult, and more dangerous than anything humanly conceivable. It requires the full mobilization of our national strength. Here is a threat to the Reich and the European continent that far surpasses all previous dangers to the Western world. If we fail in this struggle, we would thereby forfeit our historical mission. Everything we have built and achieved so far pales in comparison to the gigantic task facing the German Wehrmacht directly and the German people indirectly.

In my remarks, I first address the world public and proclaim three theses of our fight against the Bolshevik threat in the East.

The first of these theses is: If the German Wehrmacht is not able to break the danger from the East, the Reich and soon after all of Europe will fall to Bolshevism.

The second of these theses is: Only the German Wehrmacht and the German people, together with their allies, possess the strength to fundamentally save Europe from this threat.

The third of these theses is: Danger is imminent. Quick and thorough action is required; otherwise, it will be too late.

Regarding the first thesis, I must point out that Bolshevism has always openly proclaimed its goal of revolutionizing not only Europe but the entire world and plunging it into Bolshevik chaos. This goal has been ideologically advocated and practically pursued by the Kremlin since the beginning of the Bolshevik Soviet Union. It is clear that Stalin and the other Soviet leaders, the closer they believe they are to achieving their world-destroying objectives, are all the more eager to disguise and conceal them. This does not deter us. We are not among those timid souls who, like the hypnotized rabbit, stare at the snake until it devours them. We want to recognize the danger in time and confront it with effective means in time. We see through not only the ideology but also the practices of Bolshevism because we have already dealt with them with the greatest possible success in the field of domestic politics. The Kremlin can fool us about nothing. In a fourteen-year struggle before the seizure of power and a ten-year struggle

after the seizure of power, we have unmasked its intentions and infamous world-deception maneuvers.

The goal of Bolshevism is the world revolution of the Jews. They want to bring chaos to the Reich and Europe in order to establish their international, Bolshevik-tinged capitalist tyranny in the resulting hopelessness and despair of the peoples.

What this would mean for the German people does not need further explanation. With the Bolshevization of the Reich, it would entail the liquidation of our entire intellectual and leadership class and, as a result, the transfer of the working masses into Bolshevik-Jewish slavery. In Moscow, they are seeking forced labor battalions, as the Führer already said in his proclamation on January 30, for the Siberian tundras.

The uprising of the steppes is preparing before our fronts, and the onslaught from the East, which is increasing daily in strength against our lines, is nothing less than an attempt to repeat the historical devastations that have so often threatened our continent in the past.

But this also means an immediate acute threat to the lives of all European powers. One should not believe that Bolshevism, if it had the opportunity to begin its victorious march over the Reich, would stop somewhere at our borders. It pursues an aggressive policy and aggressive warfare aimed explicitly at the Bolshevization of all countries and peoples. Paper declarations given by the Kremlin or as guarantee commitments by London or Washington against these undeniable intentions do not impress us. We know we are dealing with an infernal political devilry in the East that does not recognize the usual relations between humans and states. For example, when the English Lord Beaverbrook declares that Europe must be handed over to the leadership of the Soviet Union, and a prominent American-Jewish journalist, Brown, supplements this thesis with the cynical statement that the Bolshevization of Europe might indeed represent the solution to our continental problem, we know exactly what is meant. The European powers are facing their crucial question of life. The West is in danger. Whether their governments and their intellectual classes want to see this or not is entirely irrelevant.

The German people, in any case, are not willing to expose themselves even tentatively to this danger. Behind the advancing Soviet divisions, we already see the Jewish liquidation squads, and behind them, terror, the specter of millions of people starving, and complete anarchy. Here again, international Jewry proves to be the diabolical ferment of decomposition, which takes a kind of cynical satisfaction in plunging the world into its deepest disorder and thus bringing about the downfall of ancient cultures, in which it has never had any internal share.

We thus know what historical task we face. A two-thousand-year effort of Western humanity is in danger. This danger cannot be painted seriously enough, but it is also significant that if you just name it, international Jewry in all countries protests with loud declarations. So it has come to the point in Europe that one can no longer call a danger a danger if it comes from Jewry.

But that does not prevent us from making the necessary statements. We have done so before in our domestic political struggle when Communist Jewry used Democratic Jewry in the "Berliner Tageblatt" and the "Vossische Zeitung" to trivialize and downplay a danger that grew more threatening every day, thereby lulling the threatened parts of our people into security and putting their defensive forces to sleep. If we did not overcome this danger, we would see in our minds the specter of hunger, misery, and forced labor for millions of Germans rising, and we would see the most venerable continent shaking to its foundations and the historical heritage of Western humanity buried under its ruins. This is the problem we face.

My second thesis is that only the German Reich, with its allies, is capable of banishing the danger just described. The European states, including England, claim to be strong enough to counter a Bolshevization of the European continent effectively and promptly should it become a practical reality. This statement is childish and does not even deserve refutation. If the strongest military power in the world is not able to break the threat of Bolshevism, who would still have the strength to do so? (Here, stormy calls from the crowd in the Sportpalast: "No one!") The neutral European states do not possess the potential, the military means, or the mindset of their people to offer the slightest resistance to Bolshevism. In case of need, they would be overrun by its motorized robot divisions in a few days. In the capitals of the medium and small European states, they console themselves with the idea

that they must mentally arm themselves against the Bolshevik danger. (Laughter.) This desperately reminds one of the declarations of the bourgeois middle parties in 1932 that the fight against Communism could only be fought and won with intellectual weapons. This claim was too ridiculous for us to engage with even back then.

Eastern Bolshevism is not only a terrorist doctrine but also a terrorist practice. It pursues its goals and objectives with infernal thoroughness, fully exploiting its internal potential and without any regard for the happiness, prosperity, and peace of the peoples it subjugates. What would England and America do if the European continent, in the worst-case scenario, fell into the hands of Bolshevism? Do they want to convince Europe from London that such a development would stop at the Channel border? I have already pointed out that Bolshevism draws its borders ideologically as well as militarily, and therein lies its danger that transcends national boundaries. The world does not have the choice between a Europe falling back into its old fragmentation and one being newly ordered under Axis leadership, but only between a Europe standing under the military protection of the Axis and a Bolshevik Europe.

Moreover, I am firmly convinced that the lamenting lords and archbishops in London do not even intend to practically counter the Bolshevik threat that would arise for the European states with the further advance of Soviet armies. Jewry has already so deeply penetrated the Anglo-Saxon states spiritually and politically that they do not want to see or acknowledge this danger. As it disguises itself Bolshevik in the Soviet Union, it disguises itself plutocratic-capitalist in the Anglo-Saxon states. The methods of mimicry are well known in the Jewish race. It has always aimed to lull its host peoples to sleep and thus paralyze their defensive forces against the acute and life-threatening dangers it originates. (Calls from the crowd: "We've experienced them!") Our insight into this problem has already given us the realization that the alliance between international plutocracy and international Bolshevism is not nonsensical but rather has a profound and causal sense. Across our land, Western European seemingly civilized Jewry and the Jewry of the eastern ghetto already join hands. Thus, Europe is in mortal danger.

I do not flatter myself with these remarks to alarm public opinion in the neutral or even enemy states. That is not their purpose or intent. I know

that the English press will fall upon me with a furious yapping tomorrow, claiming that in light of our strain on the eastern front, I have extended the first peace feelers. (Stormy laughter.) There can be no talk of that. No one in Germany thinks of a foul compromise today; the whole people think only of a hard war. But as a responsible spokesman for the leading country of this continent, I claim the sovereign right to call a danger a danger when it threatens not only our own country but our entire continent. As National Socialists, we have the duty to raise the alarm against the attempted chaos of the European continent by international Jewry, which has built itself a terrorist military power in Bolshevism whose threat cannot be overestimated.

The third thesis I want to elaborate on is that danger is imminent. The paralysis symptoms of the Western European democracies against their most lethal threat are heart-wrenching. International Jewry promotes them with all its might. Just as resistance against Communism was artificially put to sleep by Jewish newspapers during our struggle for power in our own country and only revived by National Socialism, the same is true for other nations today. Here again, Jewry proves to be the incarnation of evil, a tangible demon of decay, and a carrier of international, culture-destroying chaos. In this context, one will also understand our consistent Jewish policy. We see Jewry as an immediate danger for every country. How other nations defend themselves against this danger is indifferent to us. How we defend ourselves against it is our own business, into which we do not tolerate any interference. Jewry presents an infectious phenomenon that works contagiously. If the enemy abroad hypocritically protests against our anti-Jewish policy and sheds hypocritical crocodile tears over our measures against Jewry, it cannot prevent us from doing what is necessary. Germany, in any case, does not intend to bow to this threat but rather to confront it in time and, if necessary, with the most radical countermeasures. (For minutes after these words, approving cheers prevent the Minister from continuing.)

The military strain on the Reich in the East stands under the sign of all these considerations. The war of mechanized robots against Germany and Europe has reached its peak. The German people, with their Axis partners, are fulfilling a European mission in the truest sense of the word by confronting this immediate and serious life threat with weapons. We are not deterred by the outcry of international Jewry worldwide in the courageous and upright continuation of the gigantic struggle against this world plague. It can and must only end with victory.

The struggle for Stalingrad, in its tragic entanglement, has become a symbol of this heroic, masculine resistance against the uprising of the steppes. Therefore, it had not only military but also spiritual and moral significance for the German people of profound impact. Only here have our eyes been fully opened to the problems arising from this war. We no longer want to hear anything about false hopes and illusions. We want to look facts, no matter how hard and cruel they are, boldly in the eye. For it has always been proven in the history of our party and our state that a recognized danger is soon a banished danger. Under the sign of this heroic resistance stand our further most severe defensive battles in the East. They demand our soldiers and their weapons to an extent completely unknown to us in all previous campaigns. In the East, a war of no mercy is raging. The Führer has rightly characterized it by saying that it will produce neither victors nor vanquished but only survivors and annihilated.

The German people have clearly recognized this. With their healthy instinct, they have found their own way through the thicket of the daily mental and spiritual difficulties of this war. We now know that the blitzkrieg of the Polish and Western campaigns has only limited applicability in the East. Here, the German nation is fighting for everything. In this struggle, we have come to realize that the German people are defending their most sacred possessions: their families, their wives and children, the beauty and inviolability of their landscape, their cities and villages, the two-thousand-year heritage of their culture, and everything that makes life worth living.

The Bolsheviks, of course, have no understanding of these treasures of our rich national heritage, and they would not show the slightest consideration for them if necessary. They do not even do so for their own people. The Soviet Union has exploited the Bolshevik war potential for 25 years to an extent that was completely unimaginable to us and therefore wrongly assessed by us. The terrorist Jewry has made 200 million people in Russia its servants, combining its cynical methods and practices with the stubborn tenacity of the Russian race, which therefore poses an even greater danger to the European cultural peoples. In the East, an entire people is forced to fight. Here, men, women, and even children are not only driven into armament factories but also into the war. 200 million stand against us here, partly under the terror of the GPU, partly caught in a diabolical worldview, facing us with wild dullness. The masses of tanks that are besieging our

eastern front this winter are the result of 25 years of social misfortune and misery of the Bolshevik people. We must counteract this with corresponding measures if we do not want to declare the game lost.

I firmly believe that we can only permanently overcome the Bolshevik danger if we counter it, if not with identical, then with equivalent methods. The German nation thus faces the most serious question of this war: to muster the resolve to deploy everything to preserve everything it possesses and to gain everything necessary for its future life.

The total war, therefore, is the command of the hour. Now must end the bourgeois squeamishness that still wants to proceed in this fateful struggle according to the principle: "Wash me, but do not make me wet!" (Each sentence of the minister is accompanied by growing applause and the strongest approval.) The danger we face is immense. Therefore, the efforts with which we counter it must be equally immense. So now the time has come to take off the kid gloves and bandage the fist. (A hurricane of applause rises like a single shout. Chanting from the galleries and stands confirms the full approval of the crowd.) It is no longer acceptable to only superficially exploit the rich war potential not only of our own country but also of the significant parts of Europe available to us. It must be fully exploited, and as quickly and thoroughly as is organizationally and factually conceivable. Here, false consideration is entirely out of place. Europe's future depends on our struggle in the East. We are ready to protect it. The German people provide their most precious national blood for this fight. The rest of Europe should at least provide its labor. There are many serious critics in other countries who already recognize this compelling duty. Others still deny it. But that cannot be decisive for us. If the danger were only given to them alone, one could consider their utterances as literary nonsense that holds no significance. But the danger is given to all of us, and therefore we must all defend against it. Those who do not understand this fight in the rest of Europe today will thank us on their knees tomorrow that we took it on bravely and unwaveringly.

It does not even anger us when our enemies abroad claim that the measures we are now taking to totalize the war come quite close to those of Bolshevism. Hypocritically, they declare that from this one must conclude that under these circumstances the fight against Bolshevism is unnecessary. It is not about the method by which Bolshevism is defeated but about the goal, namely the elimination of the threat. (Minutes of applause.) So the question

is not whether the methods we use are good or bad, but whether they lead to success. In any case, as the National Socialist leadership, we are now determined to do everything. We are taking action without regard to the objections of one or the other. We no longer want to weaken the German war potential and thus endanger our war effort in the interest of maintaining a high, sometimes almost peace-time, standard of living for a certain segment of the population. On the contrary, we voluntarily renounce a significant part of this standard of living to increase the war potential as quickly and thoroughly as possible. This action is not an end in itself but only a means to an end. The higher the social standard of living of our people will rise again after the victory. We do not need to imitate Bolshevik methods because we have better human and leadership material and thus possess a great advantage. But as developments show, we must do much more than we have done so far to give the war in the East a decisive turn for the better.

Moreover, as I am informed by countless letters from home and declarations of approval from the front, there is only one opinion in the whole German people. Everyone knows that if we lost this war, it would destroy us all. And therefore, the people and their leadership are determined to resort to the most radical self-help. The broad working masses of our people do not reproach the government for being too ruthless but for being too considerate. If you ask across the land, you will receive only one answer everywhere: The most radical is just radical, and the most total is just total enough today to achieve victory.

Therefore, total war is a matter for the entire German people. No one can avoid its demands with even a semblance of justification. When I proclaimed total war from this place in my speech on January 30, spontaneous storms of approval swelled up from the masses gathered around me. So I can state that the leadership is in complete agreement with the entire German people at home and at the front in its measures. The people are willing to take on all, even the heaviest burdens, and are ready to make any sacrifice if it serves the great goal of victory. (Lively calls.)

The prerequisite for this, however, is naturally that the burdens are distributed fairly. (Loudest approval.) It must not be tolerated that the vast majority of the people bear the whole burden of the war while a small passive part tries to avoid the burdens and responsibilities of the war. The measures we have taken and must still take will therefore be imbued with the spirit of

National Socialist justice. We take no account of status and profession. The rich and the poor, the high and the low must be equally demanded. Everyone will be called upon to fulfill their duty to the nation in this most serious phase of our struggle for destiny, if necessary, be forced to do so. We know we are in full agreement with the national will of our people. We would rather use too much strength to achieve victory than too little. Never in the history of nations has a war been lost because the leadership had too many soldiers and weapons. Many, however, have been lost because the opposite was the case.

It is therefore time to prod the laggards into action. (Stormy calls of approval.) They must be shaken from their comfortable rest. We cannot wait until they come to their senses by themselves and it might be too late. There must be a call to arms throughout the entire nation. Millions of hands must get to work, across the land. The measures we have already taken and must still take, which I will explain in more detail in the further course of my remarks, are drastic for the entire private and public life. The sacrifices that the individual citizen must make are sometimes heavy, but they mean little compared to the sacrifices he would have to make if he refused these sacrifices and thus brought about the greatest national misfortune for our people. It is better to make a cut at the right time than to wait and let the disease take hold. But one must not fall on the surgeon who makes the cut or accuse him of bodily harm. He does not cut to kill, but to save the patient's life.

Again, I must emphasize here that the heavier the sacrifices the German people have to make to achieve victory, the more urgently the demand must be raised that they are distributed fairly. That is what the people want. No one resists taking on even the heaviest war burdens today. But it is naturally infuriating if certain people repeatedly try to avoid the burdens altogether. The National Socialist leadership has the moral and state-political duty to stand up to such attempts manfully, if necessary, with draconian penalties. (Approval.) Leniency would be completely out of place here and would gradually lead to a confusion of feelings and views among our people that would seriously endanger our public war morale.

We are thus forced to take a series of measures that are not of vital importance to the conduct of the war itself, but are necessary for maintaining war morale at home and at the front. Even the optics of war, i.e., the external image of war, are of decisive importance in the fourth year of the war. The

front has a fundamental right, given the superhuman sacrifices it must make daily, to expect that not a single person at home claims the right to live past the war and its duties. But not only the front demands this, but also the vast majority of decent people at home. (Stormy applause.) The diligent have a right to not have loafers lounging next to them, thinking they are smart and not clever enough. The home front must remain clean and intact in its entirety. Nothing should tarnish its warlike appearance.

Therefore, a series of measures have been taken to reflect this new optics of war. We have, for example, ordered the closure of bars and nightclubs. I cannot imagine that there are still people today who fully fulfill their war duties and at the same time sit in

amusement venues until the early hours. I can only conclude from this that they do not take their war duties very seriously. We have closed these amusement venues because they started to become bothersome and tarnished the image of the war. We are not pursuing prudish goals with this. After the war, we will gladly return to the principle: Live and let live. During the war, however, the principle is: Fight and let fight!

Luxury restaurants, whose expense is disproportionate to the achieved effect, have also been closed. It may be that one or the other still sees the main task during the war in taking care of their stomach. We cannot take that into account. If our fighting troops at the front, from the grenadier to the field marshal, eat from the field kitchen, I believe it is not too much to ask to force everyone at home to at least consider the elementary demands of community thinking. We will become gourmets again after the war. Today we have more important things to do than to take care of our stomachs.

Countless luxury and representation shops have also been closed. They were often a constant source of annoyance for the buying public. There was practically nothing to buy there anymore, at most if you paid with butter or eggs instead of money. What is the purpose of shops that no longer sell goods and only consume electricity, heating, and human labor, which we lack everywhere, especially in armaments production?

One should not argue here that maintaining a semblance of peace would impress the foreign countries. The foreign countries are only impressed by a German victory! (Stormy approval.) When we have won,

everyone will want to be our friend. If we were to lose, we could count our friends on the fingers of one hand. We have therefore ended these false illusions that blur the image of war. We will put the people who stood idly in the empty shops to more useful work in the public war economy. This process is now underway and will be completed by March 15. It represents, of course, a huge reorganization of our entire economic life. We are not proceeding without a plan. We do not want to unjustly accuse anyone or distribute blame and reproach in all directions. We are merely doing what is necessary. But we are doing it quickly and thoroughly.

We would rather wear patched clothes for a few years than create a situation where our people would have to walk around in rags for centuries. What is the point of fashion salons today, consuming light, heating, and human labor? They will be reborn after the war when we have time and desire again. What is the point of beauty salons, where a beauty cult is maintained that requires an enormous amount of time and labor, which is very nice and pleasant for peace, but superfluous for war. Our women and girls will please our victorious returning soldiers even without a peace-time appearance. (Applause.)

In public offices, work will be faster and less bureaucratic in the future. It does not create a good image if work ends on the minute after an eight-hour working day. The people are not for the offices, but the offices are for the people. So, work should be done until it is finished. That is the command of the war. If the Führer can do that, so can the servants of the state. If there is not enough work for longer working hours, give 10, 20, or 30 percent of the staff to the war-important economy and thus free an equal number of men for the front. This applies to all offices at home. Perhaps, as a result, work in the offices will proceed somewhat faster and less sluggishly. We must learn to work not only thoroughly but also promptly during the war. The soldier at the front does not have weeks to think over a measure, pass it from hand to hand, or let it gather dust in the files. He must act immediately, otherwise, he loses his life. We at home do not lose our lives through sluggish work, but we endanger the life of our people in the long run.

Everyone must make it a self-evident command of war morality to pay the greatest attention to the justified demands of the working and fighting people. We are not spoilsports, but we will not let our game be spoiled either.

If certain men and women, for example, lounge around in health resorts for weeks, gossiping about rumors and taking up space from war-wounded and workers and working women who are entitled to leave after a year of hard work, that is intolerable and has therefore been stopped. The war is not the right time for a certain amusement rabble. Our joy until its end is work and fight, in which we find our deep inner satisfaction. Whoever does not understand this out of their own sense of duty must be educated to this sense of duty, if necessary, forced. Only tough action helps here.

For example, it does not create a good impression on the people if we launch a huge propaganda campaign with the slogan: "Wheels must roll for victory!" The whole people draw conclusions from it and do not undertake unnecessary trips, but unemployed pleasure travelers only get more space on the train. The train serves war-important transports and war-essential business trips today. Leave is only to be claimed by those who would otherwise be severely endangered in their working or fighting power. The Führer has not had a day off since the beginning of the war and long before. If the first man in the state takes his duty so seriously and responsibly, then it must be a silent but unmistakable call to action for every citizen of the state.

The government does everything to provide the working people with the necessary relaxation possibilities in this difficult time. Theaters, cinemas, music halls remain in full operation. The radio will strive to expand and perfect its program. We do not intend to conjure up a gray winter mood over our people. What serves the people, what maintains, strengthens, and increases their fighting and working power, is good and important for the war. The opposite must be abolished. Therefore, as a balance against the measures described, I have ordered that the mental and moral recreation places for the people not be reduced but increased. As long as they do not harm our war efforts but promote them, they must also receive corresponding promotion from the state and people's leadership. This also applies to sports. Sports are no longer a matter for privileged circles today, but for the whole people. Exemptions in the sports field are completely senseless. The task of sports is to strengthen physical power, after all, mainly for the purpose of deploying it at least in the worst emergency of the people.

The entire German people demand this with stormy approval. It now wants to hear nothing more about war-unimportant busyness and similar self-

importance that only require time and effort. It no longer wants to hear about exaggerated, complicated questionnaire nonsense for every stupidity. It does not want to get lost in a thousand little things that might have been important for peace but have no meaning for war. It does not need to be constantly reminded of the heavy sacrifice our soldiers made in Stalingrad to be reminded of their duty. It knows what it has to do and what it has to leave. It wants a Spartan way of life for all, for high and low, rich and poor. Just as the Führer sets an example for the whole people, so the whole people in all its layers must take this example as a model. If he only knows work and worries, we do not want to leave him work and worries alone, but take on the part we can take away from him.

The time we are living through today has a striking similarity to the struggle period for every true National Socialist. There and always, we have acted like this. We have always gone through thick and thin with the people, and therefore the people have followed us on all paths. We have always shared all burdens with the people, and therefore the burdens did not seem heavy but light. The people want to be led. There has never been an example in the history of nations that, in a critical hour of national life, the people refused to follow brave and determined leadership.

In this context, I would also like to say a few words about some practical measures of total war that we have already taken.

The problem at hand is: freeing soldiers for the front, freeing workers and working women for the armaments industry. All other needs must be subordinated to these two goals, even at the expense of our social standard of living during the war. This is not intended to be a permanent stabilization of our living standard but serves only as a means to the end, namely total victory.

In the context of this action, hundreds of thousands of exemptions in the homeland must be abolished. These exemptions were necessary because we did not have enough specialists and key workers to fill the places vacated by the abolition of the exemptions. The purpose of the measures taken and to be taken is to mobilize the necessary workforce. Therefore, our appeal goes to the men who are still outside the war economy and the women who are still outside the labor process. They will not want to refuse this appeal and cannot refuse it. The work obligation for women has been broadly defined.

This does not mean, however, that only those named in the law are allowed to work. Everyone is welcome, and the more who make themselves available for the great internal economic reorganization, the more soldiers we can free for the front.

Our enemies claim that German women are not able to replace men in the war economy. This may be true for certain heavy physical work in our war production. Beyond that, however, I am convinced that German women are determined to fully occupy the place left vacant by the men going to the front in the shortest time. We do not need to refer to Bolshevik examples. In the German war economy, millions of the best German women have already been successfully working for years, and they are impatiently waiting for their ranks to be reinforced and supplemented by new additions. All those who make themselves available

for this work fulfill only a duty of gratitude to the front. Hundreds of thousands have already come, hundreds of thousands will still come. In the shortest time, we hope to free up armies of workers who will, in turn, free armies of fighting front soldiers.

I would be very mistaken about the German women if I assumed they would ignore this appeal to them. They will not cling narrowly to the law or even try to escape through its loopholes. Moreover, the few who have such intentions will not land with us. Medical certificates will not be accepted as a full substitute for the called-up labor force. Also, any alibi work, obtained from the husband or brother-in-law or a good friend to avoid work unnoticed, will be met with corresponding countermeasures from us. The few who pursue such plans will only discredit themselves in public opinion. The people will hold them in the greatest contempt. No one demands that a woman who does not have the necessary physical conditions goes into heavy production in a tank factory. However, there are countless productions in the war industry that can be performed without too much physical exertion, and for which a woman, even from privileged circles, can calmly make herself available. No one is too good for this, and we only have the choice of doing something whole here or losing everything.

It would also be appropriate for women who employ domestic staff to review this matter now. It is quite possible to devote oneself to the household and children and release the maid or entrust the household and

children to the maid or the NSV and report for work oneself. Of course, life will not be as comfortable as in peace. But we do not live in peace, we live in war. We will make ourselves comfortable again when we have victory in our hands. Now we must fight for victory with the greatest possible sacrifice of our comfort.

Soldiers' wives will understand this, especially. They will consider it their highest duty to stand by their men at the front by making themselves available for war-important work. This mainly concerns agriculture. The wives of farmworkers must set a good example here. The principle applies to all men and women that it is not appropriate for anyone to do even less in war than in peace. Work must be increased in all areas.

Incidentally, one must not make the mistake of shifting everything that is necessary now onto the government. The government can only create the broad framework laws. It is the task of the working people to give these framework laws life and content; this must be done under the leadership of the party. Quick action is the first command here.

So, beyond the legal obligation, the motto now is: Volunteers first! Here, I appeal especially as Berlin Gauleiter to my Berlin fellow citizens. You have already given so many noble examples of a brave outlook on life in the course of this war that you certainly do not want to be ashamed of this demand. You have earned a good reputation worldwide for your practical way of life and your fresh outlook even during the war. It is now a matter of maintaining and enhancing this good name through a generous way of acting. So, if I call on my fellow Berliners to quickly, promptly, and without many objections make themselves available for war-important work, I know that everyone will respond to this appeal. We do not want to complain about the severity of the time or talk nonsense to each other; we want to tackle it, act, take the initiative, do something ourselves, and not leave everything for others to do.

Which German woman would be able to resist such an appeal, which I direct mainly for the fighting front to the German women? Who would now place a petty comfort above the national duty? Who would now, in view of the serious threat we are all exposed to, think of their selfish private needs and not the overarching necessities of the war?

I reject with contempt the accusation our enemies make that this is an imitation of Bolshevism. We do not want to imitate Bolshevism, we want to defeat it, and with means and methods that are up to it. German women will understand this best because they have long recognized that the war our men are fighting today is primarily a war to protect their children. Their most sacred possession is thus protected in this war by the deployment of the most precious blood of our people. The German woman must spontaneously show her solidarity with this fight of the men. She must sooner join the ranks of millions of working employees and workers and increase the army of the working homeland with her own person. It must be like a current of readiness running through the German people. I expect countless women and especially men who have not yet done any war-important work to report to the registration offices. Whoever acts quickly gives twice.

In addition, generous consolidations are taking place in our general economy. This mainly concerns our insurance and banking system, the tax system, our non-war and life-essential magazine and newspaper industry, dispensable party and administrative operations, but also a further simplification of our people's way of life.

I know that large parts of our people will have to make heavy sacrifices. I have an understanding of these sacrifices, and the people's leadership is trying to minimize them. But a certain remainder will have to be borne. After the war, we will rebuild what we are now dissolving, greater and more beautiful than ever, and the state will lend its helping hand.

In this context, I strongly oppose the claim that our measures are aimed at shutting down the middle class or monopolizing our economy. After the war, the middle class will be economically and socially restored to the greatest extent. The current measures are emergency measures exclusively for war purposes and war needs. They do not aim for a structural change in the economy but are solely directed at helping to achieve victory as quickly and thoroughly as possible.

I do not deny that we still face anxious weeks even after the implementation of the measures just described. But with that, we finally create some breathing space. We set these measures on the actions of the coming summer and start working today without paying any attention to the threats and boasting of the enemy. I am happy to be able to present this

victory program (stormy applause) to a German people who not only willingly accept these measures but demand them more urgently than ever during this war. The people want comprehensive and swift action. It is time! We must use the moment and the hour to secure ourselves against future surprises.

I address this appeal to the entire German people, especially to the party as the designated leader of the totalization of our internal war effort. It is not the first time it faces such a gigantic task. It will tackle this task with its accustomed revolutionary zeal. It will be the first to deal with sluggishness and indolence that may appear here and there. The state has issued its framework laws and will issue more in the coming days and weeks. The minor issues that remain unnoticed in these framework laws must be implemented by the people themselves under the leadership of the party. Above all, what we undertake and leave behind now stands the moral law for everyone valid: to do nothing that harms the war and to do everything that serves victory.

We have often referred to the Frederician example in our newspapers and speeches in recent years. We had no right to do so. Friedrich II. faced 90 million Europeans with five million Prussians at one time during the Third Silesian War, as Schlieffen calculated. And already in the second of the seven hellish years, he suffered a defeat that brought the entire Prussian state to the brink of collapse. He never had enough soldiers and weapons to fight his battles without the greatest risk. He always operated his strategy as a system of improvisation. But he followed the principle of attacking the enemy where an opportunity arose and defeating him where he faced him. That he suffered defeats is not decisive. What is decisive is that the great king remained unbroken in all strokes of fate, that he unshakably took the fluctuating fortunes of war upon himself, and his iron heart overcame every danger. At the end of the seven years, he stood, aged 51, a toothless, gouty, and pain-ridden old man, yet victorious on the devastated battlefield. What do we have to counter that? At most, only the will and determination to do the same if the hour demands it, to remain unshakable in all strokes of fate like him, to force victory even under the most unfavorable circumstances, and never to despair of the great cause we are fighting for.

I express my deep conviction that the German people have been profoundly purified by the tragic blow of fate at Stalingrad. It has looked the

war in its hard and merciless face. It now knows the cruel truth and is determined to go through thick and thin with the Führer. (The crowd rises in enthusiasm at these words, and never-ending chants of "Führer command, we follow!" "Hail to our Führer!" prevent the minister from continuing for minutes.)

In these days, the English and American press have extensively dealt with the attitude of the German people in the current crisis. The English know the German people much better, according to their boasting, than we, its own leadership. They give us hypocritical advice on what to do and what to avoid, always under the mistaken assumption that the German people of today are the same as the German people of November 1918, who fell for their seductive arts. I do not need to refute this assumption. The refutation is provided every day anew by the fighting and working German people.

However, I want to ask you, my German compatriots, a series of questions for the sake of truth, which you must answer to the best of your knowledge and belief. When my listeners spontaneously showed their approval of my demands on January 30, the English press claimed the next day that it was a propaganda theater and did not correspond to the true mood of the German people. (Spontaneous calls: "Shame!" "Lie!" "They should come here! They will get to know us!") Today

, I have invited a cross-section of the German people in the best sense of the word to this assembly. (The minister's enumeration is accompanied by stormy demonstrations of approval, which are expressed in never-ending applause and the strongest approval for the representatives of the Wehrmacht present in the Sportpalast.) In front of me sit rows of German wounded from the Eastern Front, leg and arm amputees, with shot-up limbs, war-blind men who have come with their Red Cross nurses, men in the prime of their years who have their crutches in front of them. Among them, I count about fifty bearers of oak leaves and the Knight's Cross, a brilliant delegation of our fighting front. Behind them rises a block of armament workers and workers from the Berlin tank factories. Behind them again sit men from the party organization, soldiers from the fighting Wehrmacht, doctors, scientists, artists, engineers, and architects, teachers, officials, and employees from offices and bureaus, a proud representation of our intellectual life in all its layers, to which the Reich owes wonders of invention and human genius, especially now in the war. Throughout the Sportpalast, I see thousands of

German women. Youth is represented here and old age. No rank, no profession, and no age was overlooked in the invitation. I can therefore rightly say: What sits before me here is a cross-section of the whole German people at the front and at home. Is that correct? Yes or no! (The Sportpalast experiences at this moment a demonstration as it has only experienced at special highlights of national events. The masses spring from their seats as if electrified. Like an orkan, a many-thousand-voiced Yes roars through the wide arena. What the participants of this rally experience is a popular vote and expression of will that can find no more spontaneous expression.)

You, my listeners, represent the nation at this moment. And I want to ask you ten questions, which you should answer with the German people in front of the whole world, especially in front of our enemies, who are also listening to us on their radios. (Only with difficulty can the minister be heard for the following questions. The masses are in a state of highest excitement. The individual questions fall with knife-sharp precision. Everyone feels personally addressed. With utmost involvement and enthusiasm, the masses give their answers to each question. The Sportpalast resounds with a single shout of approval.)

The English claim that the German people have lost faith in victory.

I ask you: Do you believe in the final total victory of the German people with the Führer and with us?

I ask you: Are you determined to follow the Führer through thick and thin in the fight for victory, even under the heaviest personal burdens?

Second: The English claim that the German people are tired of the fight.

I ask you: Are you ready to continue this fight with wild determination and unwavering through all strokes of fate until victory is in our hands, standing as a phalanx of the homeland behind the fighting Wehrmacht with the Führer?

Third: The English claim that the German people no longer want to submit to the increasing war work demanded by the government.

I ask you: Are you and the German people determined to work ten, twelve, and if necessary, fourteen and sixteen hours a day and give everything for victory if the Führer commands it?

Fourth: The English claim that the German people oppose the total war measures of the government. They want not total war but capitulation. (Calls: Never! Never! Never!)

I ask you: Do you want total war? Do you want it, if necessary, even more total and radical than we can even imagine today?

Fifth: The English claim that the German people have lost confidence in the Führer.

I ask you: Is your confidence in the Führer today greater, more faithful, and more unshakeable than ever? Is your willingness to follow him on all his paths and to do everything necessary to bring the war to a victorious end absolute and unrestricted? (The crowd rises as one. The enthusiasm of the masses erupts in a demonstration of unprecedented magnitude. Many-thousand-voiced chants of "Führer command, we follow!" roar through the hall. An unending wave of calls for the Führer rises. As if on command, the flags and standards now rise, the highest expression of the solemn moment in which the masses pay homage to the Führer.)

I ask you as the sixth: Are you ready from now on to give your full strength and provide the Eastern Front with the men and weapons it needs to deliver the fatal blow to Bolshevism?

I ask you seventh: Do you swear with a sacred oath to the front that the homeland stands behind them with strong morale and will give them everything they need to achieve victory?

I ask you eighth: Do you, especially you women, want the government to ensure that the German woman also makes her full strength available for the war effort and steps in everywhere it is possible to free men for the front and thus help their men at the front?

I ask you ninth: Do you approve of the most radical measures against a small circle of shirkers and black marketeers who play at peace in

the midst of war and want to exploit the people's distress for selfish purposes? Do you agree that anyone who offends against the war should lose his head?

I ask you tenth and last: Do you want, as the National Socialist party program demands, equal rights and equal duties, especially in war, that the homeland takes on the heavy burdens of the war in solidarity and that they are distributed equally for high and low, rich and poor?

I have asked you; you have given me your answer. You are a piece of the people, through your mouth the stance of the German people has manifested itself. You have called out to our enemies what they need to know so they do not give in to illusions and false ideas.

Thus, we are, as from the first hour of our power and through all ten years, firmly and brotherly united with the German people. The most powerful ally in the world, the people themselves, stand behind us and are determined to fight for victory with the Führer, no matter what the cost, and even to take on the heaviest sacrifices. What power in the world could now prevent us from achieving and fulfilling everything we have set as our goal? Now it will and must succeed! I stand here before you not only as the spokesman of the government but also as the spokesman of the people. Around me sit my old friends from the party who hold high offices in the leadership of the people and the state. Next to me sits comrade Speer, who has received the historic task from the Führer to mobilize the German armament industry and supply the front with weapons in abundance. Next to me sits comrade Dr. Ley, who has received the task from the Führer to lead the German working class and train them for their war duties in tireless commitment. We feel united with our comrade Sauckel, who has received the task from the Führer to bring hundreds of thousands of workers to the Reich, representing a reinforcement of the national economy that the enemy cannot catch up with. Moreover, all leaders of the party, the Wehrmacht, and the state are united with us.

We, all children of our people, welded together with the people in the greatest hour of fate in our national history, pledge to you, to the front, and to the Führer that we will weld the homeland into a will block on which the Führer and his fighting soldiers can absolutely and blindly rely. We commit to doing everything necessary in our lives and work to achieve victory. We want to fill our hearts with that political passion that has always

consumed us like an eternally burning fire in the great struggle times of the party and the state. We will never fall prey to that false and hypocritical objectivity nonsense in this war, which has already brought so much misfortune to the German nation in its history.

When this war began, we focused our eyes solely on the nation. What serves it and its struggle for life is good and must be preserved and promoted. What harms it and its struggle for life is bad and must be eliminated and cut off. With hot hearts and cool heads, we want to tackle the great problems of this war time. We thus tread the path to final victory. It is founded on faith in the Führer.

So, on this evening, I once again place the great duty before the eyes of the whole nation. The Führer expects from us a performance that puts everything previously in the shade. We will not fail to meet his demand. Just as we are proud of him, so he should be proud of us.

In the great crises and upheavals of national life, true men and true women prove themselves. There, one no longer has the right to speak of the weaker sex; there, both sexes demonstrate the same fighting determination and strength of soul. The nation is ready for anything. The Führer has commanded; we will follow him. If we have ever believed faithfully and unbreakably in victory, then in this hour of national reflection and inner elevation. We see it lying tangibly close before us; we must only grasp it. We must only muster the determination to subordinate everything else to its service. That is the command of the hour. And therefore, the motto is:

Now, people, rise and storm break loose! (The minister's last words are drowned in never-ending stormy applause.)

The Crisis of Europe

February 28, 1943

One must understand the Jewish question to comprehend the current constellation of the war. Otherwise, how could one explain the following facts: the Axis powers are embroiled in a life-threatening world conflict, in which, on one side, Eastern Bolshevism, supposedly the most extreme and radical expression of international socialism, and on the other side, Western plutocracy, admittedly the most extreme and radical expression of international capitalism, are aligned against them. Bolshevism seems to be trying to adopt Western European civilized manners; on the other hand, plutocracy, as needed, dons the Jacobin cap and speaks in a revolutionary jargon, trying to bridge the remaining gap to Bolshevism. The Kremlin assures Downing Street and the White House that the plutocracy ruling there isn't as bad as it appears at first glance, while in London and Washington, refined gentlemen in morning coats and archbishops and cardinals in robes are busily attempting to whitewash Bolshevism and Stalin, making them appear as innocent angels. There is no greater piety than that practiced by the Soviet authorities, and no more determined socialism than that represented by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Eden. Explain this contradiction of nature to me, Count Orindur!

The solution to this puzzle is elusive if one overlooks the Jewish problem when examining these facts. However, it becomes clear if one sees the key to world history in the racial question here as well. There is only an apparent difference between the two hostile camps when one considers the persons acting in the foreground. However, when examining the background, one soon discovers the spiritus rector of all the spiritual and mental confusion, the ferment of the decomposition of states and peoples: international Jewry.

Plutocracy and Bolshevism stem from the same root of a liberal-democratic period of decay. They may differ in nuances but are essentially the same, if not entirely in what they aim to achieve, then certainly in what they oppose. And that is primarily the order among nations. Both thrive on disorder, anarchy, and chaos. They pursue these states because only from them can they draw their infernal power for evil and destruction. Judaism

knows two ways to establish and maintain its dominion over closed ethnic groups: that of international capitalism and that of international Bolshevism. They differ only in style and appearance, not in essence. One is the more radical brother of the other. Their lust for power is boundless. Whenever they cannot achieve their goals in the usual way, they strive to bring about a state of deepest hopelessness and despair among the peoples, where their seeds can then flourish. On the way there, they are constantly and eagerly trying to paralyze and lull the natural defenses of states and nations—once by discrediting any resistance that springs from the national strength of nations from the outset, thereby preventing it from gaining ground, and another time by making the danger seem as small and harmless as possible until it becomes inevitable.

We are currently living in this stage of the process. In November of last year, when it began to emerge that the German Wehrmacht was unable to hold the lines it had reached in the summer and early autumn operations in the East, this diabolical game also began. The balls were thrown between Moscow on one side and London and Washington on the other. The Bolsheviks dressed up for Western Europe, and the plutocrats presented them in this at first glance astonishing disguise to a bewildered world. The Kremlin powers would very quickly remove their makeup and reappear in their bandit attire if it ever came to that. Today, they are only engaging in mimicry, an art of adaptation and pretense that Jews, having had to apply it repeatedly to maintain their parasitic existence throughout history, are extraordinarily practiced in. One can imagine the stormy laughter among the Soviets triggered by essays in neutral and even Anglo-American papers portraying Bolshevism as the embodiment of bourgeois harmlessness. Sometimes, one wonders whether these articles are written out of stupidity or malice. However, there can hardly be any dispute that their impact poses a national and even continental danger to us all.

We are currently living in the most critical stage of the Western world. Any weakening of the spiritual and military defensive power of our continent against Eastern Bolshevism carries the danger of a rapidly approaching paralysis of its will to resist, from which the inevitable consequence would only be a matter of time and the right moment. It has come to the point where the Kremlin no longer feels compelled to defend itself publicly against the severe accusations made against it in almost all European states. It believes it can entrust its word exclusively to its weapons.

It was not represented in Casablanca, thereby documenting its complete indifference to Anglo-American agreements. All efforts from London and Washington to get it even to approve the so-called Atlantic Charter have failed. Stalin surrounds himself, as an American journalist recently wrote, with oriental silence. Meanwhile, his mechanized robot divisions speak. They direct their aggressive point not only against the Reich and its allies but against the entire Western world. This must now be recognized.

Meanwhile, the Jews of the Western plutocracies are busily working to downplay the looming danger and make it halfway palatable for the European audience. They claim that Bolshevism has reformed over the last two years, precisely since its union with the Anglo-Saxon powers, and has adopted a more bourgeois face. The exact opposite is, of course, the case. Not Bolshevism has adapted to plutocracy, but plutocracy has adapted to Bolshevism. An old human experience proves that when different temperaments come together—and nothing more is at stake here—the more radical part always gains the upper hand. This also applies to this political-military concubinage. The current piety of the Kremlin is only feigned, while the Bolshevik friendliness of the Anglican Church is genuine. Behind the pietistic phrases of the Soviet grandees, we already discover the grimace of Bolshevik atheism, which is not eradicated but intends to resume liquidations at the appropriate moment, continuing its extermination work, completed with hundreds of thousands of clergy in the Soviet Union, in the European states. Perhaps then the Christian churches would first learn what militant enmity towards God actually means.

It is, of course, also incredibly naive to believe the claims of the English and Americans that they would intervene with armed force in Europe to save our continent from Bolshevization if it ever came to that. What the German Wehrmacht could not accomplish, no other military force in the world would be able to accomplish, quite apart from whether they would even want to. Today, leading English and American papers already declare that the Soviet Union must be given free rein in Europe and that it might be best if our continent were placed under the Kremlin's domination. This can be stated in one sentence, but it entails the tragedy of the entire civilized humanity. One shudders at the thought that this could ever become a reality, that such an idea could even be uttered without the entire Western humanity rising as one man and resorting to self-help. Instead, they stare hypnotized at

the snake like the rabbit until they are devoured. This would elevate the paralysis of European willpower to its peak.

From Moscow, on the other hand, the thesis is being propagated, especially calculated for the working masses in European states, that they have always had to work and would need to do no more than work even in a Soviet system. It takes a sacred simplicity to listen to this argument at all. Jewish terrorism in the Soviet Union is directed not only against intellectual circles but much more seriously, and in terms of numbers, significantly more against the working and peasant classes. Millions of working people have miserably perished in forced labor camps; and if the Soviet Union inflicts such a fate on its own people, how would it treat foreign peoples! Slave battalions are sought for Siberia; and how little mercy and consideration would be shown is demonstrated by the horrifying events in the formerly Baltic states during their brief Soviet period. There, too, not only the politically, militarily, and economically leading class but also the entire intelligentsia was eradicated, which is also the aim of Jewish Bolshevism, which does not sit firmly in the saddle as long as there is even the slightest possibility of forming a new opposition under national leadership. It is indeed the case that we are dealing here with the most diabolical attempt to assault European states and peoples and that there is only one means to counter it: armed resistance until the world enemy is brought to justice. That is all it is about. The danger can only be overcome by the national strength of the peoples.

It gives us satisfaction to be able to observe in the international discussion about this danger that awareness of it grows with its approach. Voices are increasing throughout Europe, pointing to it with growing seriousness. Even in the areas occupied by German troops, people are beginning to realize that, in an emergency, the German Wehrmacht offers the only protection against the rolling steamroller from the East. In certain circles of our continent, something like a European solidarity consciousness is already beginning to emerge.

Perhaps, in this process of relearning by an entire continent, Judaism will ultimately become a part of that force which always strives for evil but creates good. Historical developments do not always proceed as regularly as one imagines, as Clausewitz once said, and sometimes it is so that one believes to be lost in the most confusing thicket, follows a side path, and

suddenly stands on the broad highway again, seeing the shining goal ahead. A large-scale infernal devilry works only as long as those who are supposed to be affected by it do not see through it. Once the danger is recognized, it is already half averted. One must not be confused by external influences in the examination of its problematics, and if insight fails, then instinct must be consulted.

Our instinct tells us that we are on the right path. The

situation is not as complicated as it seems; it is only complicated by those who benefit from it. They want to make us uncertain and lull and paralyze our will to resist. Europe today lives largely in a narcotized state; but once it finds the courage to expel the poison and no longer think and feel as its enemies suggest but as its self-preservation instinct dictates, then everything is won. We possess much more strength on our continent than we realize. We only need to muster a small part of it to use it. Danger makes one alert. We have the impression that there is something like a slow or sometimes sudden awakening going through certain circles of our continent. We do not believe that our continent intends to give up on itself. It is not at the end but at the beginning of a new phase of its development.

Our soldiers in the East will do their part. They will stop and then finally break the assault from the steppe. They are fighting under unimaginable conditions. But it is a good fight they are fighting. It is not only about securing our lives but also about the future of Europe. Many of those who do not want to acknowledge this today will thank them on their knees tomorrow. A truth always asserts itself, even here. Often, Judaism in its eventful history has stood on the brink of final triumph, only to be suddenly thrown back into the darkness of its inferior existence at the last hour before the decision.

We must remain vigilant to ensure it meets the same fate this time as well. Europe's material and spiritual crisis is approaching its dramatic climax. Whoever is in the best form at this climax will carry off the victory. Therefore, for us today, the word holds more than ever: Being prepared is everything!

Then and Now

March 7, 1943

No matter how much effort is made in London to persuade us otherwise, we remain firmly convinced that Bolshevism is the most dangerous threat at this stage of the war. Contrary to what British-Jewish propagandists want the English public and the world to believe, Bolshevism has not reformed or purified itself. Instead, with increasing military advances, it pursues growing world-revolutionary goals and objectives, and those who associate with it will ultimately suffer from it. We have every right to state this openly and frankly because the European threat stemming from these facts concerns not only our continent in general but our country in particular. We rise above the suspicion that we want to extend peace feelers by highlighting this danger, to catch the naive or, as it is termed in British-Jewish jargon, to sow discord among the various parts of the enemy camp. Anyone with even superficial knowledge of internal conditions in the Reich knows that the German people are currently thinking about everything but cowardly submission; and as for sowing discord among our opponents, we have the impression that the seed has already sprouted and is waiting more for the reaper than the sower. But that is just by the way.

Our view of the matters of war is entirely sober and realistic. We are too wise to view the situation through rose-colored glasses, always believing it better to underestimate our own chances, especially in such turbulent times, since it is easier to adjust to unexpected good fortune than to unexpected misfortune. This is about much more serious matters than mere agitation. We have repeatedly emphasized to the world that the emergence of militant Bolshevism, even though still far from the borders of the Reich, poses an immediate threat to our entire continent and that this threat cannot be dealt with by burying our heads in the sand but by recognizing it and confronting it with courage and civic bravery.

We are well aware that such an undertaking, especially at this stage of the war where it is a matter of life and death, is accompanied by various suspicions and accusations, primarily that we might be weak ourselves and, in our desperation, are seeking allies by trying to attract them through

common fear rather than shared goals. This is far from us. We are not naive enough to believe that those European states which have not yet chosen their position in this war would choose it based on a speech or newspaper article. Other factors would need to come into play to move them. We are addressing our comments primarily to the German people and the allied nations. That the wider world public listens in is inevitable; whether it draws its conclusions from what is heard remains entirely its own matter. We will also deal with the described danger alone if we face it bravely and undeterred.

How the neutral and hostile foreign countries behave towards it is more a question of psychology for us at the moment than practical politics. We have repeatedly pointed out that the problematics of this war would not be as problematic as they are if not for the constant interference of the Jews. For international Jewry pursues entirely different interests in both the neutral and, if we may say so without provoking the wrath of all the propagandists in London, Washington, and Moscow, in the hostile states than those that serve the well-being of the respective peoples. For Jewry, international plutocracy is always only a transitional stage towards international Bolshevism. On the soil of capitalist states, the seeds from which chaos and anarchy spring thrive best. Such a development, of course, does not occur abruptly but in long-drawn intervals, and in the intervening gaps, the Jewish infection can nestle most securely and unnoticed.

It requires a considerable understanding of Jewish practice to see through such a process and not be lulled into complacency by occasional reassuring signs in this development. If the Jews were to openly state what they want and aim for, the entire world would presumably rise against them. Therefore, they engage in a sort of policy of concealment. They first fog the area they are targeting so that their advancing auxiliary peoples are not recognized prematurely, and only give the signal to attack when the intended victim is so sedated and narcotized that it can no longer offer any significant resistance.

The official British policy may deny this as much as it wants, but it cannot deceive us about the fact that even the British public is already beginning to recognize the danger posed by Bolshevism to the Western world. We do not flatter ourselves that this is a success of German propaganda, which is not as insidious as the English always characterize it. This simply lies in the nature of the times and arises from the given circumstances.

International Jewry sees in our efforts to enlighten the world about the Bolshevist danger a threat to its comprehensive revolutionary-anarchistic plans, and hence its outcry whenever we make even the slightest attempt to call things by their names and comment on the situation as it truly deserves.

When the Communist Party in the Reich prepared to storm the democratic republic before our rise to power, it could also enjoy the covert or even open support of the liberally minded Jews. This cooperation between the stock exchange and Karl Liebknecht House remained undisturbed as long as National Socialism was not in the picture. The moment it uncovered these connections, both turned on it with trembling rage. It disturbed their plans. From the bourgeoisie, which seemed harmlessly vegetating until the danger became unavoidable, there was nothing to fear; it only needed to be kept dumb, and therefore the communists were considered political children who sometimes behaved a little improperly but were otherwise not to be taken seriously. In England, the same play is currently being performed. When ministers of His British Majesty speak before the emblems of hammer and sickle on the 25th anniversary of the Red Army and sing the Internationale together with the Jewish-Bolshevik ambassador Maisky, when English bishops pray for the victory of Bolshevism in Europe, when, as a London report stated, the flags of the red revolution waved over all of England on this holiday, every knowledgeable person knows what that means. This goes far beyond the mere purpose of a military alliance and signifies nothing more and nothing less than that the British Empire is currently undergoing an internal process of decay from which it will be fortunate to survive with any sound limbs.

The English comfort themselves over this danger with the lame excuse that their tactic is based on reciprocity, and just as they approach Bolshevism, so Bolshevism approaches them. But as the facts prove, this does not correspond to the facts. In London, they may sing the Internationale, but in Moscow, they do not sing "God Save the King." The flags of Bolshevism may fly over England, but has anyone ever heard of the flags of the British Empire flying over the Soviet Union? These may be externalities, but they appear symptomatic to us. If a relatively healthy person gets into bed with a typhoid patient, it is not the healthy person who will infect the typhoid patient with health, but the typhoid patient who will infect the healthy person with typhoid. When radicalism and conservatism come together, radicalism always has the better chances. Once the wall that encloses the nation-states in

their solid structure is breached at one point, there is no stopping the flood of anarchy. Even in politics, especially in war, one does not play with fire without punishment. Sooner or later, one will get burned.

While we emphasize once again that we are not speaking to the English but exclusively to our people and the other European nations threatened by the same danger as we are, to make clear to them how little can be expected from Great Britain when it comes to the crunch, we do not flatter ourselves by thinking we will not be honored with a furious barking from London. We know this from much experience. The bitterest accusations will be made against us, particularly that we intentionally exaggerate matters and out of political calculation push the Jews forward as scapegoats. We are above such suspicions. We do not even bother to refute them because it would be entirely futile. We cannot and do not want to convince the English and their Jewish backers. What we can and want to do is to clear the fog that the enemies of Europe spread over the danger so it can sneak up on us unnoticed and strike at the opportune moment.

We do not fear the outcry of the hostile world. It has howled in our ears so often in our lives that we have become quite insensitive to it. We know very well that we will deal with the Bolshevist danger and how we will do so. International Jewry disguises itself skillfully, but not skillfully enough to escape our keen perception. We see the situation as if on an X-ray plate, down to the skeleton. It does not take excessive intelligence to detect the rotten spots in the organism, and once discovered, it should not be difficult to excise them.

We approach mastering the current war situation with a very healthy, down-to-earth optimism. Every old National Socialist remembers that he has often faced equally difficult, if not more difficult, tasks in his life than those he faces now. When we came to Berlin in 1926, our chances of conquering this city were ridiculously slim compared to those, for example, currently given to the Reich capital in the struggle for German life. And as it is here, so it is everywhere else. Some intelligence, much courage, and a sovereign contempt for danger, and we will already deal with the ever-emerging difficulties. In the end, the German victory stands assured. Never have we believed in it as firmly as today. The more desperate the means the enemy uses to outmaneuver us, the more surely he digs his own grave. Political and

intellectual developments also need their time; but when they are ripe, they will also come to pass.

After our last speech at the Berlin Sportpalast, we received such a flood of letters from the homeland, from

the front, and from friendly and neutral abroad that the departments responsible had difficulty reading them all. It was a single cry for the hardest measures of the war. In London, comparisons to 1918 are sometimes made, claiming that today is exactly like then. Quite apart from the fact that the military situation of 1943 cannot be compared at all with that of 1918, one thing has fundamentally changed compared to the fourth year of the World War: back then, the German people were running after the enemies of the state, today they stand loyally and steadfastly behind the Führer. Back then, they spoke of peace, today they only speak of war. Back then, the front was abandoned by the homeland, today it feels supported by it. Back then, the people told the government: "Make peace," today they tell it: "Stay firm!" Back then, we placed our trust in the enemy, today we only trust in our own strength.

In the World War, we did not know what it was about. In this war, we know exactly. Our faith and confidence rise above all the day's trials. Nothing can shake us in this. A people that stood so close to victory in 1918 and only lost it through its own folly will not lightly squander its great historical opportunity this time. It will work and fight until it knows its life and future are secured. It has walked through the purification of this winter with its head held high. It has looked death in the eye. But when it approached, it reared up with all its strength against it and pushed it back. We are living through a sort of convalescent period today. This usually does not last too long. Then we will rise again and look around to see where we want to strike next. The enemy has triumphed too soon. Those thought dead generally live very long. We wipe the blood from our eyes so we can see clearly, and when we enter the next round, we will stand firmly on our feet again. They will get to know us.

This winter, drawing to a close, was a harsh test for us. But it also brought us something good: we saw the danger, and we will not lose sight of it until it is broken.

The Winter Crisis and Total War

March 14, 1943

We must get used to seeing the war in larger dimensions than we usually do. Its daily, weekly, and monthly problems, no matter how significant they may seem, are mostly consequences of deeper causes. Only those who can perceive the entire war as a material, intellectual, and spiritual unity will be able to handle its constantly emerging time- and circumstance-related difficulties over the long term. One must not believe that crises come and go by chance. They fit into the larger framework of the war, are manifestations of its wide-ranging problems, and find their resolution in its overall development. It is no coincidence that we are always on the offensive in the East during the summer, but fall back into the defensive with all its painful side effects each winter. It seems important to us that we draw certain conclusions from this almost inevitable sequence of events that will at least protect us from experiencing similar situations in the future as we were forced to endure in the past winter months.

By a military crisis, we mean a strain on the front that is not just daily but of a more serious nature. There was undoubtedly such a crisis in the previous and the just-ended winter in the East. We have suffered significant losses of conquered territory, weapons, and, most importantly, people during this last crisis. These losses are not so high as to decisively endanger the further victorious continuation of the war, but they are high enough to cause us considerable difficulties. There is no point in concealing this from the German people; for it must also muster the strength to overcome the consequences of this crisis as quickly and thoroughly as possible. We can speak about these matters today more openly and candidly because we have some reason to believe that the rolling Bolshevik steamroller in the East has at least temporarily been brought to a halt. Moreover, our troops have regained so much strength from reserves that they can already carry out locally limited offensive counteractions to a significant extent.

However, it would be fundamentally wrong and evidence of a frivolous self-deception to assume that we painted the situation in the East blacker than it was in reality in recent weeks and months, in other words, that

we engaged in a kind of purposeful pessimism to make total war easier to accept, as our enemies claim. We do not need to conjure up ghosts for our people. When we publicly advocate decisive measures in warfare, we have enough truthful and honest reasons to do so, so that we do not need to take crooked paths. The situation in the East was exactly as we described it during the past months; only since then has it changed significantly, and that in our favor. Of course, we do not hesitate to bring this to the public's attention just as freely.

There will be another occasion to discuss how the situation became complicated and how it slowly disentangled. When someone has just recovered from a serious illness, it does not seem to us the right time to first analyze the illness in detail. Instead, we consider it more important to concentrate all the body's, soul's, and spirit's forces on overcoming even the last remnants of the illness and, above all, to ensure that its causes and any possibility of recurrence are removed. Therefore, when we proclaimed total war in the middle of the winter crisis, it was not a temporary program but a long-term one. It requires enormous efforts in all areas, and their results cannot naturally be immediately noticeable but only after a certain start-up period. The total war, as we are now conducting it to a smaller extent and still preparing for to a larger extent, could hardly contribute to overcoming the current crisis; rather, it is intended to prevent such and similar crises in the future. This is the great lesson we have learned from the past winter.

Nothing would be more disastrous than a vain self-deception that would lead us to abandon the good resolutions of winter at the first glimpse of the spring sun. On the contrary, the pains and anxieties that accompanied us through the dark winter months, through the days and into the deep nights, must also be our companions in the coming weeks and months. We have not overcome the mountain; we still stand before it. A tremendous distance still needs to be conquered, especially in its most difficult parts. Those who now indulge in frivolous illusions only prove that they have not understood the meaning of the severe winter crisis we have left behind and would certainly stumble into a new, even more serious crisis if we did not warn them in time. But we do not want that. We have once looked a dark fate in the eye. We were shaken by a misfortune that almost robbed us of our senses, and while it struck us with whip blows, we swore to ourselves: Never again!

There is a remedy against the crisis, and that is the application and mobilization of our entire national strength. It must be exhausted to the last possibility. Whether spring smiles or summer beckons, it does not matter; we must think only of the winter that follows and which we must conquer without significant loss. Certainly, the enemy's potential will also be exhausted at some point. His reserves of men and material are also limited, and we now see in the East that there are limits to his offensives. But we unfortunately do not know exactly where his possibilities end. Therefore, it seems better and more practical to prepare for too much rather than too little. In every war, it ultimately came down to the last battalion that was still in reserve, and this time we must provide it. In the decisive round, one must still have so much strength that one can comfortably withstand every blow from the enemy and respond with a harder blow. Therefore, we understand total war to mean much more than just implementing organizational measures to completely exhaust the internal potential. Total war is the complete abandonment of peace for the purpose of waging war and restoring real and orderly peace. This has nothing to do with changing seasons and changing crises; it is a matter that concerns the whole nation beyond time and space, class, and rank. Here lies the path to victory, the only path to victory.

No one welcomes the relief of our situation in the East as much as we do. The initially slowly ebbing military strain caused us worries and anxieties that we had never known before. At times, we envied anyone who was merely a spectator of political and military events and bore no responsibility. Of course, we never doubted that we would sooner or later overcome the difficulties, but they were still there.

If someone resents us for forbidding him during the war to make himself the object of enemy propaganda, we still believe that we did him a special service last winter. For this war is not only a war of arms but also a war of nerves. We are proud to be able to stand before our people with wide-open arms in this war of nerves to halt and break the dirty waves of enemy agitation. We have not concealed anything from the people that they needed to know, and what remained unsaid for military reasons will be stated at the final conclusion of the current operations. The German leadership can and must look the people openly in the eye. It has the right to demand increased sacrifices and efforts from the nation because they ultimately benefit the nation. Participating in this war is a great honor for everyone involved, but also a heavy burden, and sometimes one doubts whether the rulers or the

ruled are better off. In any case, to give just one example, we would find it easier to stand in line for daily food supplies than to have to ensure the food supply for a city of five million people every day. Reading the OKW report is probably usually much more comfortable than reviewing the front line in all its details every noon and every evening.

Be that as it may, the war brings an enormous amount of work, worry, burden, and responsibility for leadership and followers, and anyone who cannot cope with it does not consume the war; the war consumes him. For it is relentless. It strides over us without regard for our happiness and sometimes even for our lives. On the morning after the last British terror attack on the Reich capital, we visited a number of damage sites, including a hospital that had been completely turned to rubble by the English friends of humanity. In an archway lay the body of a young nurse who had just been recovered. She had been carrying patients to the basement during the alarm as an air raid warden and was struck by the fatal bomb. We lifted the linen cloth that had been spread over her and looked into a very peaceful, completely unblemished young girl's face. Her blonde hair spilled out from under the slightly shifted steel helmet on her head. Underneath, two blue, now broken eyes were half open, and her arms hung lifelessly at the side of her delicate female body.

One might ask what this innocent girl had to do with the war. But this question should be directed at our enemies, perhaps at that 22-year-old Canadian lout who took off from an English airfield to drop his bombs on Berlin. But he probably wouldn't have an answer. He might not even be able to find Germany on the globe. He comes from a rich part of the world, but his people and government are unable to make their abundant riches serve their community. They have too much; we have too little. But instead of sharing their excess with us, they want to take away the little we have. And we resist this, no matter how long it takes and how hard and cruel it sometimes seems. That is probably what that nurse knew, and therefore a transfigured smile crossed her features in death. If in the last moment of her small and humble life she thought once more of her parents or her friend or fiancé, who might be at the front and whom she now had to leave, she would have found comfort only in the thought that she too had to die for a great and good cause.

Are we not all subject to the same law of war? In its cruel chastisements lies the certainty of its coming blessing. We must act today in such a way

that we need not be ashamed of it later. It takes our strength, but it also gives us strength. In every pain it inflicts on us, there is also great consolation. Call the power that rules over us fate or God; it doesn't matter. It cannot have decided that after this gigantic struggle, the rich will triumph over the poor, the arrogant over the humbly brave, the all-possessing over the dispossessed, the destructive forces over the constructive ones. It uses us to fulfill its will. That is the deepest meaning of this war.

If the misfortune of the past winter has led us to realize our full and true strength, then it was not in vain. We owe it to it to be suspicious and vigilant and to remain so. Nothing must divert us from the clear course of this war. We do not want to see the spring and not notice the summer if it wants to seduce us into frivolity. We want to work and fight as if our lives depended on it every day. Then we are immune to any danger and will win life.

On Injustice in War

March 28, 1943

Even the wisest state leadership cannot completely eliminate injustice in the world, even in war. If one applies a very strict standard, there will always be a residue of it remaining. This is because people are neither equal in character nor abilities but are highly unequal. Therefore, some succeed in life better than others. They not only have more success when they use unfair means, but also because they have greater chances due to their talents. However, their successes generally benefit themselves and, to some extent, the community, and thus they are positively evaluated and must be protected and promoted by the state. There are certain fanatics whose sense of justice stems more from a drive for equality than from a higher ethic. If they could, they would even abolish the fact that some are smart and others are dumb, for this is a significant source of injustice in life.

It is natural that the sense of justice is particularly strong among the people during war. As long as everyone has enough to eat and live, it is generally not a problem if one person has a bit more than another. But once scarcity sets in, the drive for equality naturally arises. This drive is justified and even necessary for state politics when it comes to essential goods. However, it must stop where personal individualism affects areas outside state interests. For example, if bread and meat are scarce, the state must ensure they are distributed fairly and evenly. But it is different if one person has a greater hunger for education and seeks to satisfy it while another prefers beer and a proper men's card game. No one should therefore believe they are particularly contributing to the total war by harassing a woman on the tram or streetcar because she is nicely dressed. This woman may have been serving in the war for years or has a number of children to raise and care for at home; perhaps her husband or several of her brothers are at the Eastern Front, and if she tells this to the lout who discredits a great patriotic cause with his rude behavior, he is certainly the embarrassed one.

Wherever total war necessarily brings about some equality, it does so not out of principle or envy or class instinct, but out of a compelling necessity of purpose. It should be, as much as possible, the cause of the entire

people, in which everyone participates. Otherwise, it would become more an expression of Bolshevik than National Socialist sentiment. We know women who conscientiously fulfill all their war duties, lovingly care for a whole family, have made significant personal sacrifices for the war, and still do not let themselves go outwardly but rather take care to appear as nice and as pleasant as possible even in these difficult times. We do not mock or laugh at this; we have the greatest respect for it. As long as life during the war allows for the development of individual personality, everyone is free to make use of this possibility as they wish. Total war is a very serious matter, and we would do ourselves and it the greatest harm if we allowed it to become a playground for vulgar instincts. What needs to be done for victory, we all do together and gladly. Whoever tries to dodge it is a saboteur of the war and will be held accountable accordingly. Whatever life, freedom, and beauty remain, anyone can fill as they wish, and they can count on the state's protection. The young woman does not need to make herself ugly because she would otherwise be envied, and the smart man does not need to pretend to be dumb so that the dumb find favor with him.

Life has not only distributed talents but also opportunities unequally. Furthermore, some are quicker and more skillful in taking advantage of the opportunities given to them than others, even if both have the same human and intellectual qualities. We can only partially change this. There are certainly countless brave soldiers at the front who deserve a higher award than they receive. As far as this is due to their bravery not being properly recognized, it must be corrected as much as possible. However, as far as it is due to one having more opportunities to prove themselves than the other, it is in most cases unchangeable. Many circumstances that lie in the nature of war contribute to this. One shows particular bravery in a battle and deserves the Iron Cross, First Class, but his superior, who would have proposed him for it, falls during the battle. Another, just as brave as the first, performs his heroic deed under the eyes of his general and receives the coveted award immediately after the battle. This is unjust, certainly, but tell us a way to change it!

It is regrettable when a brave soldier is transferred from one unit to another, fights excellently everywhere but never really settles in. He remains unrecognized for awards for months or even indefinitely. His comrade, who has been in the same regiment since the beginning of the campaign, carries the award that the other also well deserved and long ago. One goes to war

with enthusiasm, is severely wounded in the first battle, but receives no award. The other comes out of every danger unscathed; he is practically bulletproof and has the opportunity to distinguish himself often and greatly. An old World War I participant is no longer physically as fit as a twenty-year-old recruit. He brings all imaginable enthusiasm to the cause, but the other is superior because he is younger. This seems unjust, but it is so. One soldier is stationed in the West and gets leave; the other is in the East and sometimes goes up to 20 months without leave, and when his turn finally comes, an emergency situation at the front imposes a ban, and the waiting starts all over again. We understand that he vents his pressed heart in not exactly flattering expressions about the war in general and his personal bad luck in particular. But he will hopefully bring just as much understanding when we tell him that we can do little to change that. Just as it rains on the just and the unjust, although only the just deserve the rain, so luck sometimes bestows its gifts without any consideration more on those who need them less than on those who desperately need them. If in an individual case something can be changed by personal intervention, then it should be done. In most cases, however, the obvious injustice will go unnoticed, and the affected person has no choice but to make do.

It is the same in civilian life. For example, many businesses are closed in the course of total war. Naturally, the jewelry profession is just as honorable as that of the food merchant and therefore has the same right to state protection as the latter; with the difference that jewelry is dispensable in war, but potatoes and vegetables are not. And since there is a shortage of energy, coal, living space, and labor, a jewelry family that has perhaps run its business for generations loses its store and staff, while twenty steps away, a grocery store that may be only ten years old is even expanding. This is highly regrettable, and the state leadership seeks to mitigate the severity of this blow for the affected party as much as possible. But it cannot change its measure. If it did not take these and many similar actions, we would risk losing the war under certain circumstances, and then both the grocer and the jeweler would lose their business and much more. Therefore, one must bring his sacrifice for the other. But the war demands this on a much stricter scale, with one falling at the front so that the other can keep his life at home.

So it is pointless to ponder over this natural inequality of obligations. It cannot be abolished; it springs from life itself, and one would have to eliminate life to eliminate it. Why is one smart and another less so? Why

does one cope with adversity and difficulties more easily than another? Why does one slip on an orange peel and break his leg, while the other walks past it without even noticing it? Why does one rise to the highest heights of life while the other remains in its depths? Why is one a lucky person and the other an unlucky one? We do not know. We only know that it is so and that little can be changed about it. The state must take more care of those who are on the shadow side than those who are on the sunny side; but a residue always remains unsolved.

We know people with high abilities, but no sooner do they start something than it goes wrong. Others, who cannot match them in talent, progress from success to success. Napoleon demanded first and foremost from his generals not genius and knowledge, but that they were lucky. And that is right and perhaps in the deepest sense not as unjust as it seems. For in a true community state, the advantage of the individual benefits not only himself but also his people. In any case, a people benefits more if the lucky ones outnumber the unlucky ones. Do not misunderstand us and assume that we are advocating deliberate and intentional injustice in war. Where we encounter it, we seek to eliminate it. The state leadership must never tire in striving to correct the randomness of chance, which sometimes hits individuals very hard. This is the deepest meaning of true socialism, which does not settle for the given but constantly seeks to bring it into a social order. But life itself is only mitigated by this, not fundamentally changed. Anyone who tries to do so would soon fail miserably.

It is in the nature of a communal effort, and war is such in the most comprehensive sense, that everyone participates in it, but only a few have the opportunity to distinguish themselves beyond the normal measure and carry the glory for all. They are then also decorated for all. The squadron commodore who carries the oak leaves with swords gladly shares this distinction with his many brave men from the ground crew, the intelligence service, the supply, the diligent workers who built his machine in day and night shifts, the brilliant inventors and technicians who designed and constructed it, the countless millions who helped create the conditions for this war through their sacrificial spirit and Spartan life, but also with his superiors who lead and direct the battles. He is the highest

symbol of the bravery of an entire people. It is his heavy calling but also his high blessing to have to and be allowed to distinguish himself in the fight for the life of his nation.

Only a few go down in history with their personal names. From the great Prussian wars, we know only the single king and some of his generals. But the grenadiers who fought the battles, shed their blood, and gave their lives, have become immortal only as a community. But even that is worth all the devotion. When we envision them today, those from Rossbach and Leuthen, but also those from Kolin and Kunersdorf, in their old, tattered uniforms, faces scarred and blackened by powder smoke, many limping on sticks, sometimes reasoning about life, war, civilians, and chamberlains, throwing themselves tired on the straw in the evening and wanting to know nothing more about the war, but the next morning back on the march, cheering "Vivat Fridericus Rex!" to the great king when he rides past them before or after the battle, then we feel a sense of almost tangible closeness. We know none of them by name; but as the soldiers of the great king, they have entered immortality.

Here stands our example before us. The countless grenadiers who endure and fight in the East in snow, rain, cold, frost, and mud, the brave aviators, the daring men of the submarines and warships find in their decorated heroes not only their role models but also their spokespersons and representatives. They all encircle the Reich with unfading laurels. They will go down in history as a community. Centuries may come and go over our people, their fame will never fade. Along with them, even in distant times, people will mention the men and women who remained unbroken at home during the air war, who perhaps stood weeping before their belongings saved from the rubble or even before the mutilated bodies of their children.

The suffering they all bear is our common pain. They sacrifice their dearest to preserve and defend the lives of all, and in their heroism, they represent our people at home as their soldiers represent it at the front. They do not ask about right and wrong, but only where they can and must serve the nation. In their suffering, they rise above themselves. Their names remain unknown or are soon forgotten; but their deeds enter immortality.

Whoever has the honor of making their name shine in the service of the community carries the glory of their people in their hands. They stand

above the others and yet are of their flesh and blood. The community cannot live without its heroes, but its heroes also live from it. Happy is he whom fate has bestowed with courage and strength to distinguish himself before his people and also gave the opportunity to prove his talent and bravery. The people look up to him because they find their highest virtues embodied in him. But let us not forget those who, instead of fame and honor, only gathered suffering and pain.

For not only from the fame and honor of the few, but also from the suffering and pain of the many springs the new life and a brighter future for our people.

An Open Word on Total War

April 4, 1943

Every great movement, and total war is such a movement, brings to the surface not only many positive values but also some debris. One should not take this too tragically and above all should not throw the baby out with the bathwater out of frustration. An oak tree will grow tall and strong, even if ivy climbs around it. In history, no revolution, no matter how high its goals, has occurred without a few hotheads overshooting the mark. It has always been the task of its leadership to distinguish and separate the necessary from the superfluous and harmful, and especially to ensure that the great cause is not discredited by unworthy side effects.

So it is with total war. It is only natural that it engages minds most passionately, for it is not only a public affair but also intrudes into the private lives of almost every person. Depending on the temperament of the individual, its development seems too slow to some, too fast to others. Some believe we are barely at its beginning, while others think we have already exceeded the tolerable end. There is no doubt that a great deal has already been done in this area. For obvious reasons, we are not in a position to disclose the numbers of workers newly introduced into the production process and the resulting releases for the armed forces. But we can assure you in the strongest terms that their disclosure would astonish even the expert.

We, too, believe that more can and must be done than has been done so far; but we also know that this process, which ultimately involves the exchange and reallocation of millions of workers, cannot be rushed. Our people can rest completely assured. Things are proceeding in an orderly manner, and much more is being done than the layperson realizes. However, it is not in the national interest to account for this publicly at this time. The enemy is listening. He values our efforts highly, but apparently not highly enough. Therefore, it is more advantageous for us to surprise him one day than to present him with the full truth today.

Naturally, some nonsense is also involved. For example, it is quite unpleasant when a few hotheads try to exploit the favorable opportunity to

vent their undigested class instincts, but this will be rectified with some patience and, if necessary, also with strictness. These side effects should not be overly dramatized. We did not deny the National Socialist revolution because a few wild men celebrated the seizure of power by breaking windows. The rowdies were called to order, but the revolution continued its course.

So it is with total war. Our women and girls need not be ashamed if they make themselves as beautiful as possible for their husband, fiancé, or friend, especially when he is on leave; and if someone criticizes this under the pretext of total war, we tell him bluntly that he is an envious person with whom we want nothing to do and that he is apparently confusing the seriousness of the time, which we all already feel without seeking it, with his own bad mood and grumpiness.

We demand that everyone do everything within their power for total war. No one may excuse themselves from their duties, but if they fulfill them, that is enough. If we were to allow everyone the right to criticize everyone else, life would gradually become unbearable. That is not the meaning of total war. It should ignite the national strength of our people, not paralyze it. The more people voluntarily, joyfully, and without compulsion fulfill their duty, the better for the nation. Only where this willingness is lacking does pressure from above begin, and then inevitably, pressure from below will respond.

Far more important to us seems to be the lack of understanding of how much the initiative of the government must be complemented by the initiative of the individual. In recent weeks, we have received numerous letters from across the country regarding the question of total war, containing suggestions for new measures. Some of these are entirely impractical, but many are also quite sensible and reasonable, proving how much common sense our people apply to the problems of war. There is also no shortage of welcome criticism of this or that measure. Where we can correct errors, we do so. It is, however, very difficult to intervene helpfully from above when a measure is understood very differently below than it was meant above. We do not want to discuss in detail how much short-sightedness is at work here. For example, a family is bombed out during an air raid. As much as possible, they are entitled to state aid. Since the man is a soldier, the family receives support. The first notification they receive after losing their home and

belongings from an authority is that their family support is immediately reduced by the amount of rent; since they no longer have a home, they no longer need to pay rent.

This is, of course, incredibly stupid, crude, and heartless. Every pen or typewriter should refuse to write such a thing. But since it is written, the affected family does the most sensible thing they can by turning to the next higher authority. They may not immediately achieve their goal there either, but they can be convinced that this has nothing to do with the state leadership. A small man, subject to error, has made a mistake, that is all. With some wisdom and willingness to help, this error can also be fixed.

An employer must always consider how his orders will affect those receiving them; then he will not issue short-sighted decrees. Often, however, he acts stubbornly according to a peacetime regulation without considering the war. One might smile at such behavior, but the matter is too serious for that. If all the work that is pointless and in vain could be stopped at once, we would be close to victory. But that is easier said than done. We speak from rich experience when we say that an immense amount of instruction and education is necessary for this. The quick ones find it too slow, and the slow ones find it too fast. One must distinguish very well between what is feasible and what is not. We do not believe we belong to the meek and temperate; but we resist implementing all the suggestions for total war that we receive.

On the other hand, it is interesting and characteristic that a good portion of these suggestions almost verbatim matches what we have already implemented or are in the process of implementing. This is proof that the opinion of the people and the intent of the government largely coincide on this point as well. We could not wish for better. Above all, it seems significant to us that our people as a whole recognize the necessity of the measures taken and to be taken. They have, of course, only indirectly to do with the overcome winter crisis on the Eastern Front;

in any case, their removal in no way cancels them. One cannot warn strongly enough against seeing the first rays of spring as a sign of general and final relaxation. Nothing is more dangerous in war than illusion and self-deception. Most people make the mistake in their judgment of preferring to believe what they wish to be true rather than what they recognize as true.

We are entirely free from this. We see the situation quite realistically and are therefore also determined to draw the necessary conclusions from it. Those who act quickly in the current stage of the war act doubly. The faster the pace of the war becomes, the more inevitable its decisions ripen. Even if we can no longer present such sudden victories today as in the first two years of the war, the general war situation still offers us enough opportunities in which the possibility of achieving sudden successes is contained. And for that, we must be ready.

Spring has always been the time for maturing great decisions in our politics and warfare. These can only be made and implemented if there is enough power behind them. As we have often emphasized, we do not lack the necessary prerequisites; rather, we lack the flexibility to convert them into war power. Throughout the land, some nonsense is still being done that has nothing to do directly or indirectly with the war, let alone total war. It cannot be captured legally; it can only be tackled through continuous education and self-control.

How should the government, for example, know how many foolish and annoying questionnaires are still circulating in the country? We have been sent some samples that one might laugh at if they were not so sad. They are issued with a beastly seriousness, filled out, stamped, registered, and buried in large boxes, never to reappear, as if we were living in the middle of peace. One decrees with disarming thoroughness that Copernicus should be written with a K instead of a C and feels as if he has won a battle in the struggle of the continents. Another, with a diligence worthy of a better cause, is busy constructing new monstrous words by combining the initial syllables of technical terms and thus ruining our beautiful German language. He thinks he is simplifying but only creates confusion. In the end, all the specialists speak their professional German, and the layperson must consult a dictionary to keep up. One could sometimes jump out of their skin at so much foolishness. But that is how people are. They can only be educated, not changed.

And that is why the evils of the time must be tackled with enlightenment, strictness, sometimes satire, and a good portion of common sense until they gradually give way. If you keep pushing against the stumbling block, it will eventually move. You just must not lose patience. Besides, these are all exceptional cases that seem to confirm the rule of our

people's wise superiority, which corrects much by itself and ultimately gets everything done. Therefore, we repeatedly call upon the people for their assistance. Without this, the great work cannot succeed. Its success depends on the passionate involvement of every participant, and if there is a lack of enthusiasm in one place, one should always try to supplement it by bringing in more from another.

The German people are fully aware of the significance of the decisions made and those yet to be made. They know that total war is the only path to victory. If they pursue it with sacred seriousness and the sacrificial readiness that comes through in all their expressions to us, they will also reach their goal. Sometimes it takes longer than one wishes. But that is due to the persistence of people, who hold onto the good as well as the bad. Once a great cause has begun to roll, it usually becomes unstoppable. Then one only needs to correct the direction from time to time to ensure it does not miss the target. This is done continuously and will continue to be done where necessary, and thus we are on the surest path to victory, no matter how arduous and long it may sometimes seem.

In any case, we are convinced that in this way we can give the war a decisive turn. We thus avoid the danger that it will gradually enter a stage of stagnation. By adding new strength, we keep it capable of development. Every movement offers opportunities to take action. We will track them down and exploit them in time. One day, the great opportunity will come. Let us make sure we are ready then.

Only those who can act then will win then. The more forces we save for this purpose today, the more we will have to throw into it then. Here lies our chance, our great historical chance.

The Eternal Law

April 18, 1943

In war, it is always difficult, if not nearly impossible, to get an accurate picture of the internal situation of the enemy. Every warring party will strive diligently to conceal this from the other party and make its chances of victory appear as favorable as possible. This, too, is a means of warfare, and indeed a permissible one. The full truth usually only emerges after the war. Until then, one must largely rely on estimates and assumptions. One must already possess considerable skill in the art of distinguishing the true from the false and truth from deception to arrive at a reasonably clear judgment.

Therefore, for a warring people, there is hardly a more disastrous mistake than obtaining knowledge and understanding of the enemy's situation from their own utterances. Our Anglo-Saxon opponents, in particular, master the apparatus of public opinion formation extraordinarily virtuously, and the past World War must serve as a cautionary example not to fall for the first boastful bragging of the enemy. For example, even now the English admit that they, during certain phases of this war, continued to live and fight on the strength of words alone.

We thus have no certainty whether they will also surprise us with similar statements regarding the immediate present in some time. Therefore, caution is more necessary than ever.

We Germans have a much harder time with this. Our people have a longer memory than those on the enemy side. For us, the saying "What is spoken is spoken" still holds true. We do not favor news policies tailored only to the needs of the day. We demand from the government not only that it correctly and truthfully portrays the present but also that it reliably predicts the future. This, however, is only possible under certain conditions, especially in wartime. We know exactly what we can and want to do; regarding the capabilities and intentions of our opponents, however, we are largely dependent on assumptions. The government is therefore subject to error here, and one cannot even blame it for that. The general war situation

undergoes constant changes, not only on our side but also on the enemy's. The longer the war lasts, the more stubbornly and bitterly the palm of victory is fought for on both sides. The expansion of military operations has increased the perspectives of this world conflict to gigantic proportions. While two years ago one could still speak of a war between nations and great powers, today it is only a war between continents.

The intellectual and military drama we are currently experiencing dwarfs all similar events in human history.

This has also fundamentally changed the position of nations towards war itself. It has been stripped of all romance and idyll under the harshness of events. We see it quite soberly and realistically and harbor no illusions about its inner legality. This may contradict any still existing poetic portrayal of the entire war situation, but it does not change the fact that this struggle is not about this or that border province but about the life of the participating nations, and accordingly, the conduct of war itself has taken on an increasingly harsher character during this gigantic conflict. One may lament this in detail, but nothing can be changed about it. Whoever quickly familiarizes themselves with this profound transformation of the entire war image fares best. We live in an age of relentless national confrontations, and only those who muster the necessary strength of character and will to resist can win victory.

We have always advocated for openness in depicting the war situation to both our own people and the global public. We do not think much of deceptive and illusionistic notions that will be disproven by development tomorrow or the day after. A bluff policy, as was still possible in the World War, completely misses the mark in our opinion in this war. Nations, especially the German people, are too politically mature for that. The modern person can independently handle a globe and map. They are familiar with industrial, trade, and export statistics. The raw material capacity of the individual warring countries is no longer a closed book to them. Therefore, they form their own judgment about the general situation and the possibilities it holds for the warring parties, even without official guidance. Knowledge need not weaken; it can also bring an increase in mental resilience. Those naturally inclined towards pessimism will be pessimists whether they know a lot or a little, and conversely, those inclined towards optimism will, in most cases, remain optimists. Therefore, it is important to give the people the

clearest possible picture of the general situation, only with the restriction of not allowing the enemy any insight into our capabilities and intentions that could harm our cause.

A politically immature people is, of course, much easier to lead in war than a politically trained and educated one. This is why the governments on the enemy side have it so easy. They can afford to swing their public opinion from one extreme to another because it will have forgotten tomorrow what it passionately believed today. This is entirely excluded with the German people. An awkward or development-disproved phrase from the beginning of the war is still held against the person who uttered it today, quite unjustly, without regard to the fact that there are a hundred other statements alongside it that still hold true to this hour, as if the speaker alone did not have the privilege of being wrong.

It is too much to ask of a government to be right in every case. It, too, moves in this war on completely unknown terrain, and its problems have no precedent in the past. Who today would dare compare Bolshevist Russia with Tsarist Russia? Who has the courage to predict with absolute certainty the chances of air warfare or submarine warfare? Who knows the effectiveness and deployability of new weapons on either side and who claims to be able to assess them with deadly accuracy? As many problems as the war raises, it also poses as many puzzles. Only human virtues, which with their mental strength oppose the ever-changing dangers, remain certain and immutable in it.

We are at the end of a very harsh winter. It confronted us with difficulties that no one could have even suspected at its beginning. That we overcame them in the end is mainly due to the fact that we did not let them overwhelm us in critical moments. It is, of course, very easy to trace the lines of past events today. One is always wiser when returning from the town hall than when going there. The point about the past winter is not only what we lost but also what the enemy gained. Without wanting to downplay or trivialize our own losses, we believe we are justified in stating that the enemy achieved only a small fraction of what they aimed for. One only needs to compare their boastful announcements, for example from the end of January, with the current situation to easily see that despite everything, we are still on the winning side. Here too, they apparently misjudged our war power, which will certainly lead to bad consequences for them sooner or later.

Turn the matter as you will, the realization will always emerge that this war is the riddle of all riddles for all participants and even non-participants, and it is therefore primarily a matter of facing it with the certainty of character and firmness of heart. It has been said more often that idealism is a very real factor in politics; and this is especially true in such severe upheavals of national life as the present one. The capacity for belief of a person or a nation unleashes enormous mental and even material forces, and it is a great mistake to assume that one can do without it in war, as only weapons supposedly have the decisive say. We have seen nations collapse in this struggle of peoples, which possessed weapons in abundance but lacked the strength of heart that made the use of these weapons seem necessary and unavoidable to them. They had lost faith in their national mission, placed pleasure above the law of duty, and perished as a result. This is tragic but nevertheless an expression of a higher historical justice. Peoples who lose the will to self-determined national life also surrender themselves.

Not that we succumbed to a fatal error in November 1918 was our great danger, but that we temporarily gave up our historical mission and became familiar with the idea of being erased as a nation.

It has been said often enough that this war is the logical consequence of our then national failure. If we were to misunderstand this war in such a way that we believed there could be a detachment from it without total and decisive victory, we would undoubtedly lose our last historical chance. This may sound harsh, but it is true. Even overcoming the error of November 1918 required so many favorable circumstances that it almost appears as a historical miracle today. A repetition of this process would be entirely excluded. History may be mocked once, but never a second time in the same way. Having embarked on this path, we must see it through to the end regardless of the obstacles that stand in our way. There is not only no way back for us, but the situation no longer even allows for evasion.

This statement hits some hard, others less so. There are people among us whom the war has struck like a divine scourge. After one of the recent terror attacks on the Reich capital, we met a young man at a visit to a heavily damaged site who stood out to us due to his particularly pale and haggard appearance. Upon inquiry, he told us in short, halting sentences his personal fate: two of his brothers had fallen in the field, his father had died of

grief, and his mother now lay dead under the rubble of the house we were standing in front of. He had nothing left to give to the fatherland but his own bare life. We do not know what we would have been willing to give to alleviate this tragic misfortune. Yet we never forgot for a moment that this and similar fates would threaten millions of German people if we, as a nation, allowed ourselves to be overwhelmed by the harshness of such personal blows and forgot what our bitter duty to our national survival is.

The Prussians in the fifth or sixth year of the Third Silesian War probably thought and felt as we sometimes do today. They would certainly have collapsed under the weight of the misfortune that befell them if not for the commanding spirit of their great king, who constantly uplifted them. History tells us that he was sometimes the only one who faced the decrees of fate with a firm, masculine stance and thereby overcame every, even the hardest crisis. Without him, Prussia would undoubtedly have remained a small German intermediate state; through him, it became a great and thereby a leading power of the Reich. It had to pass through a deep valley of suffering and hardship before it could rise to greatness. What we admire today in him as a sum of heroism and strength of character was then merely a sum of tragic sacrifices, pains, and deprivations. History does not give away anything, especially not its most precious gifts, and just as a mother must risk her life anew every time she brings new life into the world, so must peoples risk their lives to reshape their lives, yes, even just to maintain them.

Even our cruel technical age has not abolished this eternal law and will never be able to abolish it. The expressions of this law may change, they may become harder, more embittered and embittering, more insidious and brutal; the law remains eternally the same. As in all times, this generation of our people has also embarked on the fight for its life. It continues the historical process of self-assertion of our ancestors and provides the self-preservation of our descendants with a new, better foundation. It is again, as always, about everything. Later history will judge us less by the sufferings we endure, but by the virtues we display, the blows we overcome, and the victories we achieve.

We are not unobserved in this great drama of our people. The eye of God is upon us. Before Him, we as a fighting generation will find grace in the end only if we fulfill the eternal law.

Führer's Birthday 1943

Radio Address on the Führer's Birthday

April 19, 1943

This year, the German people commemorate the Führer's birthday with a particularly serious attitude and mood. The war has entered its fourth year and has reached its hardest stage yet, with no way out of its burdens and sufferings or its end in sight. The immense scale of its political and military events now spans all five continents, and wherever one looks, people and nations are struck by its pains and sacrifices. There is hardly a country that has been spared the severe political and economic repercussions of this colossal military drama. Here and there, nervous and weak-willed critics of the times, even in the least involved states, are questioning the future viability and continued existence of human culture and civilization itself, painstakingly calculating what will remain of the proud heritage that the current generation of nations inherited from their ancestors by the end of this war.

In the worries and burdens of our days, it is all too easy to forget that, in contrast to all previous wars, this one has an entirely national and racial character, whether explicitly or implicitly stated. This is why it is being fought with such stubborn bitterness on both sides. The nations involved know very well that this time it is not about a more or less important or even trivial border correction, but about their national survival. The instigators and ruthless perpetrators of this gigantic struggle among nations surely did not foresee this when they drew their swords in September 1939 to prevent the German city of Danzig from returning to the Reich.

Even here, a small cause has had worldwide repercussions. And yet, it would be wrong to see this as the actual cause of the war. Back then, our opponents had a thousand opportunities to meet our justified national demands without suffering the slightest loss of power, prestige, or honor. They chose not to. They wanted the war because, as the current British Prime Minister cynically stated in 1936, Germany had become too strong. The balance of power in Europe had shifted in the most natural way, not so much

through our actions but mainly through our mere national political presence. England could not come to terms with this. It threw its national existence into the scales of decision and now, after more than three and a half years of war, must realize with horror that it is losing this existence piece by piece without achieving any of its war aims.

It is sometimes necessary to return to the starting point of the war to understand its further development to its current dramatic peak. A deceitful enemy propaganda is constantly at work, trying to cover its causes with its filth, making the liberal-democratic phrases and slogans of yesterday forgotten and replacing them with new, seductive theses of today, turning the guilty into innocent lambs and the innocent into the real culprits of this great misfortune. We only need to point out how many, unfortunately futile, attempts the Führer made before the outbreak of this war to limit armaments to a reasonable level and to avoid the otherwise inevitable dramatic conflict of nations in any conceivable way. He even repeated these attempts during the war to end it as soon as possible.

All was in vain. The unscrupulous circles that deliberately, cynically, and frivolously provoked this war wanted and still want a total victory. What do they care about the suffering and misfortune of nations, including their own, as long as they can indulge their criminal drive for personal enrichment and thus unlimited power over all countries and continents! They have not risen from the people like we have. Therefore, they will never understand the real interests of even their own nations. Their anti-people, if not outright hostile-to-the-people mindset gives rise to their brutal cynicism and their infernal hatred against the National Socialist movement, the National Socialist German people and Reich, and especially against the Führer himself. They see him as an intruder into the realms of state leadership, which for them is always synonymous with the betrayal of the people and the rule of money. There is nothing more shameless and disgusting than to see them talk about the freedom and dignity of humanity while they trample on people's freedom and stain their dignity with the blood of innocent children, even of their former allies, whenever they get the chance. They invoke the concepts of a higher humanity in vain. They dare not admit it to their own and other nations, yet it is true: they planned this war and provoked it at a time they deemed suitable to torpedo the first attempt to form true people's states in Europe and to smother it under the reaction of their plutocratic piracy. This is the cause, the reason, and their goal of this war.

Just as on the enemy's side the world we hate is personified by people, so too is the world we love and defend on our side. It is in the nature of such a gigantic war that the one who leads and represents it also gives it his name. And not just that. Just as he feels his luck and success doubly and triply, he also bears the weight of his misfortune and heavy fate doubly and triply. Naïve souls may imagine governing and leading to be easy and comfortable in normal peace times, but in wartime, with the burdens of historical responsibility, they will be struck by the dark feeling that the one who fares best is the one who stands at the very bottom and only has to obey, and the one who bears the heaviest burden is the one who stands at the top and has to command. Here, the image of Atlas bearing the world on his shoulders is fitting. Certainly, there is no great personality in history who has not also been filled with the intoxicating awareness of holding the fate of nations like clay in the creator's hand at some point. But far more numerous are always the hours of bitter and painful struggle with the responsibility for historical development, a silent and stubborn fight with seemingly superhuman forces of adverse circumstances and undeserved hard blows of fate, which often bury a carefully constructed plan under its ruins and nullify the success that was already within reach.

People talk and write so easily about the beginning or end of a military crisis. But only those who have faced such a crisis even once with the strength of their own strong heart can measure what that means. Days spent working and nights spent awake and worrying etch their unmistakable marks on his face during such weeks and months. The suffering and pain of individual people pile up before him like mountains to become the suffering and pain of the entire nation, and while the follower bears only his own fate, no matter how heavy it may be, the leader bears the fate of the entire nation. In critical times, millions of eyes turn to him to draw comfort and hope from his face, to infer from the firmness of his walk, the certainty of his gestures, and the confidence of his appearance what the tension of the situation does not allow to be expressed in other ways.

It has often been said that the Führer represents an image of the German people for us all. This is true in a more surprising sense than we usually realize. If one could depict the face of our people, it would likely show the same deep transformations over the course of this war that we observe with serious pride in the Führer's face. The features of hardness,

determination, but also deep suffering for the people and, in a broader sense, for humanity, which must endure and bear so much bitterness and hardship against his will and intentions, have become unmistakable here. It would almost seem cynical to compare this with the foolish and frivolous grin that the current leader of British politics likes to display in his public appearances. Faced with this glaring difference, there is no need to ask who enjoys the war and who likely wanted and provoked it. The face alone reveals the culprit.

Despite all their clamor, our enemies have not been able to stop the powerful magnetic force of the Führer's personality from spreading to the rest of the world. It is having an increasingly strong impact every day. A time as poor in truly great human figures as ours will also make such a figure on our side an object of admiration, even among the enemy. Not in vain do the Anglo-Saxon agitators pour their lies and slander daily over the Führer's name and work. They know that his program and goal are naturally beginning to take hold everywhere, even in their own countries. A nation can claim no greater asset than that of an outstanding personality whose influence extends beyond their time and captivates both friend and foe over the long term.

It is often lamented, even among the German people, that the Führer, despite being the determining factor in all political and military events, has almost completely stepped back from his work, especially during the war. This contrasts starkly with the practices of the everyday figures on the enemy side, who never miss an opportunity to present themselves in the full spotlight of the world stage. They apparently need this and likely feel a certain compulsion to do so from the realization that their lives and work probably will not outlast their own time by much. Men of true historical stature, however, are above such considerations. They draw their deepest strengths not from the fickle applause of what is called publicity. These come instead from the demonism of their historical mission, which they fulfill according to a higher law.

We know of no example in the history of nations where an outstanding human achievement has been accomplished without the visitation of the heaviest blows of fate. On the contrary, it seems that their inner rank wants to be tested by the hardness and relentlessness of the trials they are subjected to. When we saw the Führer take up and withstand the fight against an almost overwhelming fate at the head of his Wehrmacht and

his people in the past two terrible winters in the East, we are reminded of the most moving and stirring chapters of our Prussian-German history. Neither he nor we need be ashamed of this comparison. If the German people became weak in the late autumn of 1918 due to the complete moral failure of their leadership, thereby bringing

the greatest misfortune upon the Reich, the Führer, with his people, has proven in these two winters that he and we all are ready and determined to rectify the historical mistake of that time and bring home the prize of great victory precisely for that reason.

It is not easy for the speaker to accurately place the Führer's personality in relation to the gigantic events we are witnessing on his fourth birthday during the war. He himself has fully stepped back behind his work, which is nearing completion, by his own will. As much as we may sometimes regret this fact, it has brought him closer to our hearts in this entirely unostentatious way of life and work. During the great intoxicating victory phases of this war, we admired and revered him; today, as he perseveres with stubborn determination against sometimes harsh and painful blows of fate, we have come to love him deeply from the bottom of our hearts. What a comforting certainty it must be for a people to see a man at the head of their nation who visibly embodies the entire unshakable faith in victory! Here, there is no trace of the phrase-mongering and grandstanding beloved by our enemies; everything here is focused on the matter at hand, which is pursued with the cool realism and passionate fanaticism it requires. When we recently mentioned in a speech at the Berlin Sportpalast, among many other arguments for the certainty of our ultimate success in this war, that we believe in victory because we have the Führer, we received a flood of letters from the front a few weeks later, written mostly from fiercely contested positions, bunkers, and foxholes, which found this proof to be the most convincing of all.

We still cannot fully grasp what this means for us as a warring nation. Many people, especially in this war of technical weapons, hold the view that the final decision will be made solely by the abundance and quality of material. We do not underestimate its importance. But more importantly, it comes down to the spiritual readiness of a warring people to endure everything, even the worst, but never to bow before the enemy's force. We see this readiness embodied in the Führer for all of us. Just as he once

entirely served peace, he now entirely serves the war. He did not want it and sought to avoid it by all conceivable means; but since it was imposed on him, he fights it at the head of his people with all its consequences. How often have we seen him in similar situations in the history of our movement avoid a confrontation he considered unnecessary or even harmful, but then bravely take it on when it became inevitable and always lead it to victory despite all seemingly insurmountable difficulties?

It will be the same here. When we gather again today, on the eve of his 54th birthday, to bring him our greetings and all the best wishes for his person and his historical work as a united and closed people in reverence and gratitude, we do so this year with a particularly faithful trust. The danger surrounding us has made us not weak, but alert. When a people must take great risks for its continued existence, it is wise to banish the devil of doubt and discord and steadfastly focus on its historical task. It is not always possible to show every individual this task in all its vast ramifications. Therefore, he must find it expressed in the will and command of the Führer. Trust is the best moral weapon in war. Only when it begins to fail would the beginning of the end have come.

We see no reason for such concern far and wide. It exists only in the propagandistic wishful thinking of our enemies. The greater their hopes for the moral susceptibility of the German people, the greater their disappointments will be. That we do not speak of it every day is not proof that it is not so. One does not usually speak much about what is taken for granted. If anything has become self-evident for us Germans, it is the faithful and unconditional loyalty of all at the front and at home to the man who embodies for us today not only the security of the German present but also the promise of the German future.

I say this on behalf of the entire German people, as its spokesman I feel more than ever at this hour. I say this on behalf of millions of soldiers of all branches who are fulfilling their hard duty at the front, millions of workers, farmers, and intellectuals, as well as millions of women who bear the hardships of the war with patience and brave demeanor, but above all for the entire German youth who proudly bear his name. As a nation of ninety million, we once again declare our allegiance to him today. We believe in the great German victory because we believe in him. From the deepest depths of our hearts, our fervent wishes for him rise. May God grant him health,

strength, and the grace of decision. Faithful and unwavering as always, we will follow him wherever he leads us. He is our faith and our proud hope. With firm steps, we want to walk the path into the future that his hand shows us. A people that calls such a leader its own and clings to him with such unconditional loyalty is destined for greatness. It must only unwaveringly desire that greatness.

We old comrades of the Führer stand very close to him at this hour and form around him again the strong ring with which we always surrounded him in the great decisive hours of our historical struggle. We belong to him. He called us first. Often we walked with him through hardship and danger; at the end of the road always stood the shining goal.

Even today. We must never lose sight of it. With a firm gaze upon it, we fight and work, setting an example of faith and courage of heart, unwavering firmness of conviction, the old guard of the party that never wavers.

As the vanguard of our people, we call out to the Führer at this hour what has always moved our hearts as a wish and plea on his birthday: May he remain for us in the future what he is and always has been: Our Hitler!

The War and the Jews

May 9, 1943

It is astonishing how certain circles in Europe still naively, if not ignorantly, approach the Jewish question in the fourth year of this gigantic struggle. They refuse to see that this war is a war of the Jewish race and its auxiliary peoples against the Aryan humanity and against Western culture and civilization, and therefore, everything that is dear and valuable to us Germans and Europeans as defenders of a principle of civilized world order is at stake. These circles are all too easily inclined to view the Jewish question as one of humanity. They judge it more by momentary emotional reactions than by the insights and understandings of clear and cool reason. There is no doubt that if we show even the slightest weakness in solving the Jewish question, especially now during this war, we would potentially bring the greatest danger upon our people, Reich, and all of Europe.

Judaism wanted this war. Wherever you look in the enemy camp, whether on the plutocratic or Bolshevik side, you see the Jews standing behind the prominent exponents of the enemy war effort as inspirers, agitators, and enforcers. They organize the enemy war economy, design the destruction and extermination programs intended for the Axis powers, and in England and the USA, they recruit the bloodthirsty and vengeful agitators and political amok runners and in the Soviet Union, the terrorist GPU commissars. Thus, they form the glue that holds the enemy coalition together. They see the National Socialist Reich as a power that is not only militarily but also intellectually equal to them and their quest for world domination. Hence their rage and deep-seated hatred. Do not believe that the Old Testament outbursts of revenge, with which they fill their newspapers and radio broadcasts, are mere political literature. They would carry them out to the last point if they had the power to do so.

It is therefore a matter of state security that we take measures at home that seem suitable to shield the fighting German national community from this danger. This may lead to serious decisions here and there, but that is all insignificant compared to this danger. For this war is a racial war. It originated from Judaism and pursues, in its sense and according to its plan,

no other goal than the destruction and extermination of our people. We are the only obstacle left in the way of Judaism to world domination. If the Axis powers lose the fight, there would be no barrier left to save Europe from the Jewish-Bolshevik flood. It may seem strange that such a numerically limited minority can exert such immense power and thus pose such a deadly threat. But nevertheless, it is so. International Judaism uses certain criminal practices in pursuing its world conquest plans, which uninformed peoples are not able to resist. This is also true in private life. Jews do not achieve remarkable economic successes everywhere because they are smarter than non-Jews but because they operate according to a different moral code. Therefore, they always strive to veil their system for as long as possible until it is finally too late for the affected peoples to defend themselves. They can then usually only shake off their rule through a revolution. How arduous and difficult this generally is, we can sing a song about.

We repeatedly hear reports from all enemy states that anti-Semitism is rapidly growing there. The accusations made against the Jews are well-known; their behavior initially produced similar phenomena here as well. It cannot be said that anti-Semitism in the enemy states is a matter of anti-Semitic propaganda, for this is strictly prohibited there at the behest of Judaism, even under threat of death in the Soviet Union. Despite all the efforts of Judaism against the growing anti-Semitism in the enemy world — the word Jew, for example, can hardly be found in the otherwise so talkative English and American newspapers, to say nothing of the Bolshevik ones — the anti-Jewish sentiment in the opposing public is constantly increasing. One can therefore speak of a completely natural reaction of the affected peoples to the Jewish danger, and it helps the Jews nothing in the long run if they plead in parliament and press for stricter legislation against anti-Semitism and high and highest worldly and spiritual dignitaries, including, as is to be expected, the Archbishop of Canterbury, strive to say a good word for the supposedly unjustly persecuted poor Jews. They did the same with us before 1933, and still, the National Socialist revolution came.

No prophetic word of the Führer is proving itself with such uncanny certainty and inevitability as his prediction that if Judaism managed to provoke a second world war, it would not lead to the annihilation of Aryan humanity but to the extermination of the Jewish race. This process is of world-historical significance, and as it will likely have unforeseeable consequences, it also needs its time. But it can no longer be stopped. It is

now only a matter of steering it into the right channels and above all, depriving Judaism, which, as you can imagine, is desperately defending itself, of the weapon of public deception. It is already noticeable how the Jews, as the catastrophe threatening them approaches, slowly try to disappear into the background. Instead, they send their propaganda puppets forward. It won't be long before they claim it wasn't them and wash their hands in innocence.

But as you will admit, we have some experience in this area, and we will ensure that they do not succeed. The Jews will have to answer for their countless crimes against the happiness and peace of humanity, and one day they will certainly face the punishment in the entire world that they are already suffering in Germany today. We speak on this matter without any resentment. The time is too serious to spin naive revenge plans. This is a world problem of the first order that can and must be solved by the generation living today. Sentimental considerations have no place here. We are confronting Judaism as the embodiment of general world decay. Either we break this danger, or the peoples will break under it.

No one should argue that magnanimity befits the victor. For now, we are only victors in our own country in this matter. The victory at home, however, has only intensified the infernal hatred of world Judaism against us, as the Jews still feel they are the outpost here. They want the defeat of the Axis powers because they alone expect the restoration of their old privileges from it. What could be more obvious than to rid ourselves of the impending danger by first clearing our backs so that we can continue the fight outwardly all the more energetically and unreservedly? You always have the choice with Judaism: either surrender power to it or contest it completely. We choose the latter path. And just as our enemies unconditionally take the first path, so we unconditionally take the second. The future will show who fares better. In any case, the development so far seems more likely to vindicate us than our enemies. It is not friendship with Jews, but hostility towards Jews that is growing everywhere. By the end of this war, we firmly believe that Judaism will face a fully enlightened humanity on the Jewish question.

Recently, a major London newspaper, under purely Jewish leadership, expressed its astonishment at the alarming extent of increasing anti-Semitism in the country and received a flood of letters in response, of which only a tiny fraction defended the Jews, as the newspaper itself had to admit. The pro-Semitic letters were apparently written by Jews themselves.

The others contained the harshest accusations against Judaism, and the paper was even forced under reader pressure to publish some of them. They included all the massive reproaches one could wish for. Even if this type of anti-Semitism is not yet racially based and still completely gropes in the dark regarding ethnic insights, one can nevertheless note with some satisfaction that the healthy popular instinct is beginning to make itself known even in the enemy countries. It is not much different in the United States than in England. One of the letters urged the paper, which had apparently touched on a rather hot topic, to send its reporters into the streets and trains; there they could hear countless opinions about the Jews from the public, which deserved more than just ironic dismissal.

That is how it usually starts. And the Jews in England react to this fact in the same way they tend to react elsewhere. First, they play the offended and entirely unjustly persecuted innocent, while their rabbis in the synagogues admonish them to exercise greater restraint in public as their provocative behavior arouses resentment. Then they hire some respected but purchasable figures from society, the economy, or religious life, who must take their side. Their well-paid task is to denounce anti-Semitism as a disgrace to culture, to discredit it as a propaganda weapon of the enemy, and to call for stricter legislation against it. The poor Jews publicly lament what merits they have to show for the country, how honest and patriotic citizens they have always been and intend to remain, what esteemed offices they hold in public life, and so on, until the harmless contemporary is convinced by a flood of words that he must have been mistaken when he always found Jews as the main participants in any major political or economic crime in the country. Very soon, a high church dignitary is found ready to hurl anathema against the allegedly anti-Christian anti-Semitism, and in the end, not the Jews, but their enemies are blamed for all national misfortunes. And so the merry game begins anew.

One must admit that this is an extremely sophisticated deception maneuver, and it takes considerable intelligence or a very healthy instinct to see through the Jews' tricks. But even here, the pitcher goes to the well until it breaks. The international Jewish assault against the culture and civilized order of nations is very cunningly devised, but not cunning enough to prevent it from being thwarted. One must stay on the Jews' heels and not allow them to escape when things start to get hot for them. They master the art of transforming themselves in a flash. They can appear in a thousand different

forms and yet are always the same. Once they are cornered, they play the persecuted innocent and send their sympathy brigade forward to beg for mercy. But if you extend them even a finger, they will take your whole hand. Therefore, they must be kept in the fear of the Lord.

We know very well that they hate us from the depths of their souls. But we feel extraordinarily comfortable in this hatred. There is no suffering they would not inflict upon us if they had the power to do so. Therefore, they must not be given even the semblance of power. More so: it is our duty, from the strength of our deeper understanding, to enlighten the world about their nature and misdeeds, to continually prove their pernicious role especially in the origin and conduct of this war, to unremittingly attack them, to mercilessly accuse them of the crimes they have committed until the peoples begin to awaken. This may take a long time, but it is worth it. In doing so, we will be bringing the most dangerous enemy to justice that has ever threatened the life, freedom, and dignity of humanity. There can be no mercy here. We have compassion only for the countless millions of people in our own and other European peoples who would be defenselessly exposed to the hatred and will to destroy of this diabolical race if we were weak here and ultimately failed in this fight. The educated philistine, who today is still the most inclined to defend the Jews, would be their first victim.

Therefore, vigilance is required from everyone. We must be on our guard, for the international enemy works with the utmost sophistication. From a dark sense of guilt, they suspect that this war, which they so frivolously instigated to take the final step towards world domination, has become, in its course, a war for their racial existence. Desperately, they try to halt the now inevitable course of events. It will do them no good. We will drive them further. At the end of it, the fulfillment of the Führer's prophecy will stand, which the world Jewry only laughed at in 1939 when it was made.

The Jews also laughed in Germany when we first took action against them. By now, their laughter has died down completely. They chose war against us in response. But it is on the verge of becoming a war against them. When they planned the total annihilation of the German people, they signed their own death warrant.

Here, too, world history will be the world court.

The Great Venture

May 16, 1943

Not only has the image of military goals, but also the image of the political objectives of our enemies completely shifted during the course of this war. Where have the days gone when London wanted the world to believe that they had taken up arms to protect Poland's territorial integrity against us! The German city of Danzig was to be prevented from rejoining the Reich, and for this reason alone, Britain claimed in September 1939 that it would throw the weight of its empire into the balance. Since then, much water and blood have flowed down Europe's rivers. States, thought to have been established for centuries, collapsed within weeks; continents whose populations only knew the name Poland by hearsay joined the world struggle. The problem of Bolshevism was once again brought sharply into debate, and the entire civilized world now faces the anxious question of whether it will once again succeed in saving Western civilization from being overrun by the eastern steppes [asylum seekers]. Everything is mentioned in this context, except for the immediate cause of this war. One can see from this that while it provided a welcome pretext for our enemies, it was by no means the actual cause.

The peoples on the enemy side have, once again, like in 1914, fallen victim to a grand deception and fraud maneuver of the Jewish-plutocratic powers, this time allied with the equally Jewish Bolshevism. The so-called Polish question was merely the bait. Today, it is understandably no longer pleasant for the enemy side to recall this. The fact that one ally in the opposing alliance takes care of 12,000 officers, the flower of its army, by a shot to the neck in the forest of Katyn, appears, judging by the development so far, not at all likely to create a deeper rift in the coalition of our opponents; it is merely seen as a minor operational accident that does not harm their common love. The Kremlin powers show no inclination to blush before the world's accusations; on the contrary, they turn the tables and quickly lie their way into the role of the accuser, and the plutocratic powers must then humble themselves before the Soviets in a manner unprecedented in their history. It seems almost backward to talk about Danzig in this context. In London and Washington, the Poles are made clear with all due clarity that, fundamentally,

nothing can be done for them, and they are referred to the possibilities of an amicable agreement with the Soviet Union. This means, in plain German, advising the chicken to allow itself to be eaten by the fox voluntarily and based on a friendly agreement.

That's how things stand. Although the political problems of war must always take a back seat to military ones during its course, it is sometimes good to also look at them to more precisely determine the current situation. This is all the more necessary today because this war debates not only questions of territorial possession but even more so questions of worldviews and ways of life. Judaism has once again managed to artificially cloud the entire problem of war, making it so opaque for the enemy nations that there is little hope of clarifying it other than through military events. Things have started and must be brought to an end. Only those who have kept a clear view can penetrate the fog with their eyes and see facts that remain hidden from the lay observer.

There is probably no longer any doubt anywhere that the world will look different after this war than it did before it. If the enemy powers considered a minor, yet entirely logical correction of our eastern borders in September 1939 to be unbearable for their interests, they have had to accept quite different corrections to their possessions during this war and will be forced to accept much greater ones by its end. For example, what England has lost within the past three and three-quarter years can no longer be made up by it. Thus, its calculation at the beginning of the war was evidently based on false assumptions. It has plunged into a military adventure that its leadership in 1939 still liked to call a delightful war, which has now become a bitter struggle for Britain's world power position. Moreover, England faces an intellectual crisis of the greatest magnitude due to its alliance with Bolshevism, which may lead to even more devastating consequences for the British people than its losses in the extent and substance of the British Empire.

All these elements create a situation on the enemy side that drives towards increasingly stronger dangers of explosion. And this is precisely the atmosphere in which international Jewry sees its plans for world destruction ripening. Wherever you look, it is at work. It tries every means to lead things into chaos, from which it imagines it will benefit alone. The Anglo-Saxon world has entangled itself in a crisis from which there is hardly any escape

for it. Regardless of how the war continues in detail, England and the United States will face intellectual, political, economic, and financial difficulties at its end, the dimensions of which their peoples cannot yet conceive. The security their governments currently display is nothing more than a well-concealed fear of things to come. They have played with fire and now risk being consumed by its flames. Only those states and peoples who stand on solid ideological ground will survive this war. Those without roots will fall victim to it.

Only the political layman is surprised by the cold-bloodedness with which the English and American newspapers have let the Poles fall in the recent conflict between the Kremlin and the London émigré clique. Sikorski and his comrades had ultimately asked for nothing more than clarification on the fate of 12,000 of their officers, which prompted the Soviets to break off relations with them. Not a word of rebuke against the Jewish terrorists of the Kremlin was to be read in the English-American papers, only serious admonitions to the Poles not to provoke the Soviets. It is well known that one crow does not peck out another's eye, and the Jewish conspiracy against Europe has advanced to the point where it believes it can whitewash a case as uniquely gruesome as Katyn. How deeply must English-American public opinion have sunk under the constant influence of Jewish propaganda that it sees in this terrible matter not a question of political morality but merely one of political expediency! It would be irresponsible to assume that a public so prepared could not be made ready for Bolshevism in their own country at the right moment.

This is, of course, the goal of international Jewry. As little as it speaks or writes about it, as energetically as it denies its presence to us, it pursues this goal secretly and tenaciously. A plutocratic-democratic state, no matter how few resistances it may pose to the wishes and demands of the Jews, still offers a last possibility of national regeneration and rebirth. This is excluded only under Bolshevism. Only under its rule does Judaism feel secure and unthreatened. This is also the reason why the community of action between Bolshevik and plutocratic Judaism can be explained. Their methods differ, but their goals are the same. The danger is no less great in the Anglo-Saxon countries because it is less openly visible. In all European states, there are still certain intellectual groups that consider Bolshevism, as we depict it, to be a propagandistic bogeyman. The arguments they present against this are borrowed from Jewish reasoning. They do not want to believe and

understand that there could be a political doctrine and practice that expresses itself in such hideous forms. But they usually say this only to avoid making a clear decision.

Perhaps those 12,000 Polish officers thought similarly when they tried to escape German grasp by evading to the east. They had to pay a very high price for their lack of insight. Who knows what they might have thought in their last moments as they stood before the excavated pits at Katyn to receive the bullet to the neck. In any case, we believe that they were closer to our insights than to those of their English or Soviet allies. If today, undeterred and completely unconcerned about the hysterical outcry of world Jewry, we denounce Bolshevism as the great international danger, it is to prevent whole nations and continents from one day finding themselves where the 12,000 Polish officers perished due to their political shortsightedness.

It is a known deception method of Jewry to hide its malicious and insidious intentions behind humanitarian phrases. Therefore, in many cases, like in this one at Katyn, it must come to proof by facts. How far other or even enemy nations let this development progress and at which point they become wise from harm is their business. Our German business, however, is to prick up our ears in time, recognize the danger when it can still be broken, and use all our strength to counter it at the right moment. This was once the meaning of our revolution, and it is today the meaning of this war imposed on us. We do not shy away from the accusation of constantly repeating ourselves if it makes our people immune to such temptation. A truth does not lose its proof value because its knowledge becomes common property of an entire people. The deeper the German nation is imbued with the consciousness of fighting a holy war for its highest goods in this world struggle, indeed for the existence and life of all civilized humanity, the stronger its power will be to endure it to its victorious end. Compared to the values we defend, the burdens we must bear today are not too heavy. Featherlight, however, they seem compared to the sacrifices that would be demanded of us if we failed in this struggle. We do not have the choice between war and peace, but only between war and annihilation.

Thank God, we have all the military power means at our disposal for the victorious continuation of this world struggle. We command a war potential that can measure up to that of our enemies in every respect. Our

soldierly strength is strong and unbroken. Where the enemy claims advantages in its war conduct, they are at least balanced by our advantages

in other areas, usually even surpassed. The moral war fitness of our people at the front and at home is completely unassailable. It has proven its steadfastness in tests that forbid any doubt about it. But more important than all this seems to us the fact that we Germans have a clear insight into the deeper problematics of this war. The Axis powers are uniformly oriented in will and view. In the camp of our enemies, however, there is neither a common understanding of the war conduct itself nor of the objectives of this war. They all know what they are fighting against — we take proud honor in that — but if you ask them what they are fighting for, you will get a dozen answers, each diametrically opposed to the other.

This is not the world the peoples of Europe long for. They hope and wish that after this war, an era of long peace, a time of happiness, economic prosperity, social balance, and generous reconstruction will begin. This is what they all fight and work for. But they do not see this ideal, for which the heavy sacrifices they must make today will finally and ultimately be worthwhile, growing in the camp of the enemy. There, at best, they think of restoring the state of affairs from yesterday, from which the state of today inevitably arose and would always arise and must arise, and behind which already lurks the state of chaos and complete anarchy. Every day this war lasts longer proves that we are at a turning point in history, that a new world is dawning, that it requires great patience and a tenacious spirit of sacrifice to clear the way for it, but in the end, a proud price will reward all efforts, worries, fights, and work.

We are not yet over the mountain. No matter how great the distance we have covered, a steep piece of the way still lies ahead of us, which we must conquer. But even from the point where we currently stand, we already have a wide overview of the land. Before our eyes appears the vision of waving grain fields, smoking chimneys, neat villages, and gigantic cities. All this will one day be the homeland of liberated Europe. When the phrases of our enemies are long forgotten, these facts will remain. Thus, the twentieth century, after so many sacrifices and pains, will have finally found its face. Man will master the machine by putting it to his service. In mastering the chaos it threatened to bring upon the peoples lies ultimately the claim to the highest happiness of humanity. This is the goal.

War is the way there. The more courageously we tread it, the sooner we will conquer it. Never in the history of our people has a generation had to take on such a great venture as the present one. It is up to us to be able to say at the goal that never has one gained so much as we.

The Essence of Crisis

May 30, 1943

History offers no example of a war, not even a battle, occurring without a deep incision by a crisis. The crisis, as the most crucial factor of enhancement and acceleration, belongs to the drama on stage as well as to the drama in the lives of people and nations. It functions in the course of events to test the resilience of the actors against the incidents, ultimately leading them to the heights of historical success. Therefore, Schlieffen also says that a battle without a crisis is not a battle but a skirmish. Military achievements immortalize themselves in history, accomplished not only through enormous expenditure of men and material but also through burdens, worries, and dangers. Easy victories fade in their lasting impact; the glory of statesmen, commanders, and soldiers who held high the banner of their faith even under seemingly hopeless circumstances, never losing sight of the star of their coming triumph, remains everlasting. What do we admire about the great political and military figures in human history? Is it not the civil courage and moral steadfastness with which they faced impending doom and eventually conquered it? Here, and not in the often deceptive analogy of events, history becomes a teacher.

The temporary setbacks we experienced in the military development of this war can only partially be described as crises, specifically when they took on an existentially threatening character. This was the case in the winter of 1941/42 and the winter of 1942/43. Back then, we faced situations that could only be mastered through the utmost willpower of both leadership and followers. The other blows and regressions we have suffered are not comparable to these. As painful as they may have been individually, they did not touch the core of our national existence. This, however, is the prerequisite of a genuine military crisis, one that history wants to recognize as such. It involves immediate danger, the inevitable historical risk that determines the being or non-being of the nation.

Such a crisis often develops with astonishing speed, and as suddenly as it comes, it also passes. It represents an enormous psychological burden, and although those directly or indirectly involved may hardly be aware of it

during its course, they usually feel like the rider over Lake Constance at its end. However, if the crisis is overcome successfully, it results in an increase in strength rather than a depletion. Just as a person feels a new sense of life rising within them after overcoming a serious illness, so does a nation. The greater the danger one faced, the stronger the triumph in overcoming it. This does not contradict the fact that one might have temporarily been on the brink of succumbing to it. The crisis eliminates a number of germs of illness that would have remained latent without its help. In this sense, one can even speak of the healing power of a crisis. It suddenly and unexpectedly reveals risky possibilities that might have otherwise remained unnoticed. Nothing is more fatal in war than self-deception. The clearer and more unvarnished the picture of the general situation, the better for those responsible. The crisis is the path to clarity. It separates the real from the deceptive. It is therefore more of a test than a decision. It all depends on what one makes of it.

It is, of course, cheap to refer to historical examples to explain one's own time. The comparisons are limping because the origins of events and their circumstances are mostly entirely different. Major military events of antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the more recent past have little to do with those of the present, considering their motives and objectives. But that is not decisive. Even if history does not repeat itself in events, it repeats itself in human and national conflicts, and it is always the same psychological and character-driven forces with which the shaping powers try to master their fate. They are subjected to the same tests by fate and must withstand them in the same way if they do not want to succumb to them definitively. In such tests, the tested peoples have always believed that these were the hardest ever to be overcome. Nevertheless, that is not the case. On the contrary, a critical appreciation must conclude that the burdens we have to endure in this war cannot be compared to those that, for example, young Prussia encountered on its path to great power.

Many people today lack the inner intellectual distance to view our time not only from an immediate problem-solving perspective but also to see and value it historically. This is naturally due to their excessive demands by war-related worries and deprivations. However, for those responsible, this must not be a reason not to lead this war historically.

Because what often blinds the contemporary from seeing beyond the time's immediate effects is its transience. It will be forgotten the moment it is

no longer present. But what we often overlook under the heavy sacrifices of the present is what will remain as its only lasting legacy. It may sound harsh and cruel, but it is true that what we feel most bitterly today will hardly receive corresponding recognition in the later historical assessment of our time. Most people who bear pain and suffering in this war will not see the coming century. The time they shaped will then be recognized by our descendants as the starting point of a solidified life for our people.

Only from this historical perspective is it possible to confront the more or less significant crises of political and military development with the necessary inner security and an unfailing sense for historical valuation. We are a young nation with little experience in this field. We have seldom had to prove ourselves as a great power in the past and have therefore sometimes been less successful in exceptional cases. We still risk falling back into our old particularistic thinking under strong burdens and preferring the tranquility of an unpolitical existence to the constant risks of a great national-political life. It will require long practice in historical action to cure us of this German hereditary evil. As long as it still exists, even if only in remnants, our enemies will repeatedly try to start their attrition work here, expecting that we are most vulnerable at this point. Only those who understand how to think historically will recognize this danger in time and prepare against it.

This is our only danger in this war. We succumbed to it in the World War and almost perished; this time we must master it to win the victory that eluded us in 1918. It is not only a matter of weapons but also a matter of nerves.

Our warfare has recorded its great historical successes in the first two-thirds of this gigantic struggle. They were sufficient to secure an absolutely safe position from which we can steer towards victory with an almost unwavering certainty. The nature of such a far-reaching war is that it is vulnerable at its edges and occasionally leads to crisis phenomena that cannot shake the core of our political and military position but do bring certain burdens, especially of a psychological nature. Here, the danger arises for the over-critical observer to confuse a temporary, albeit significant, difficulty with a real crisis and thus see the overall war picture in a confusing distortion. Overcoming this danger is not only a matter of political intelligence but also of political character. Our enemies find it easy to achieve peripheral successes because, due to our previous victories, they have

lost nearly everything they could afford to lose without dying. If they reverse one thing or another here and there, it is painful for us but in no way decisive for the war. With few exceptions, these are crisis symptoms, but not real crises.

True crises involve dangers of an entirely different kind. We would have to be in a situation where, outside of an unlikely stroke of luck in the war, there would be no salvation for us at all. Everyone will admit that this is not the case.

We are moving within an absolutely secured circle of our general war efforts. The difficulties we have to overcome are time-related. They are noted on the enemy side to the same, if not to a much greater extent. Therefore, they offer no cause for skepticism. Skepticism would only be justified if we faced a danger against which we had no real means of power to deploy.

The critical disposition of our people is well known worldwide. It stems from a fanatical sense of justice that does not stop even at its own interests. We are inclined to an overly objective view of things, which, on the one hand, protects us from illusions but, on the other hand, sometimes also overshadows our nation's healthy instinct for life and self-preservation like weeds. It is highly questionable whether the advantages of such a national character trait outweigh the disadvantages. In any case, a people equipped with it is much harder to lead than one that views things from the more comfortable side. With us, events and people must stand exactly in rank and file. We want to know who we are dealing with and are more likely to hold our tongue in our judgment of the enemy than in our judgment of the friend. This is also the reason for our vice of artificially delving into our personal worries, which would give strong cause for concern if it overshadowed not only our mind but also our actions. But, thank God, that is not the case. As unstable as the German may sometimes be in his speech, he is stable in his view.

There is no more contemptible self-exposure of a person than to cling to a cause only in its fortune and to fail in its misfortune. The opposite would be more honorable and practical. A mother does not throw her child into the water because it has the flu; on the contrary, she surrounds it with special caring attention to help it overcome the illness as quickly as possible

and return it to life and full health. If every illness led to death, there would be no more people, just as no more states and nations would exist if every crisis were fatal. Diseases and crises eliminate toxic germs, draw attention to unhealthy developments, and build up forces that lead to their overcoming. We Germans have not yet become accustomed to this fact because we have lived a long period of our political past without major risks. We must first familiarize ourselves with the basic rules of great historical existence again.

We will, of course, learn this; but it requires the patience, equanimity, and firm political character of our people, who can withstand all storms. In this respect, this war is our great test. If we pass it, and we have all the prerequisites to do so, then we are finally over the hill. If we fail, however, then all great effort would be wasted, and an end with horror, just like a horror without end, would be the consequence.

Our people's healthy political sense will save us from that. It has shown a moral steadfastness in this war worthy of the highest admiration. We are not talking about the small group of eternally wavering individuals who do not know how to act in victory due to illusions and boasting and furl their sails at the slightest setback, steering wearily into the harbor of their hopelessness. They are the dross of the nation's great political life. The enemy is only to be pitied if he builds his chances of victory on them. They achieve nothing more than hanging heads and skepticism; they do not represent a political value in the sense of our opponents. Opposing them stands a people matured and hardened in battle, sacrifice, work, and deprivation. They know exactly what is at stake this time, and no power in the world will ever make them doubt their good cause. They remain calm in victory and setback, preserve their conservative sense even in misfortune, and when fate calls them to great tests, they are there, far from any, even the slightest, intention to evade them.

Here, the crisis has lost its destructive power and only acts as a historical factor in strengthening souls, forging hearts, sharpening senses, and mobilizing all national strength. There is no misfortune that could break us unless we bring it upon ourselves. What we make of this war lies entirely with us, for better or for worse. The more we are willing to give to it today, the more it will repay us on the day of our victory.

Overcoming the Winter Crisis

Speech at the Berlin Sportpalast

June 5, 1943

The crisis of the winter is over. When we looked at the situation in the bleak months behind us with grim determination, we never resigned in the face of fate's blows. On the contrary, with an unprecedented effort, both leadership and people rose against it. Quietly and without much fuss, a historical achievement was made here. The enemy's nerve campaign does not impress us. The German people fell for the deceitful promises of their enemies once, in November 1918. The harsh lesson that history taught us for this moral failure is enough for us. (Loud expressions of approval underline the Minister's statements.) Back then, our enemies promised us peace, freedom, happiness, and prosperity, lied to us that they too had raised red flags on their ships and frontlines, and when the German people then lowered their flag at the behest of Jewish criminals, the then British Prime Minister Lloyd George could cynically declare, "Now it is down, now we can do with it what we want!"

Such a tragedy has only been seen once in German history. It will never happen again. It will not happen again, especially because this time we know what is at stake and hold all the trump cards for a truly decisive victory in our hands. These cannot be taken from us with lies and promises. That would only be possible by force. But against force, we set counterforce. (Cheering approval.) In this will, leadership, people, front, and homeland are united in spirit and opinion. There are no workers among us who intend to strike, and above all, no Jewish agitators who could incite them to do so. (Prolonged, thunderous applause.) We are a nation in arms, determined to defend our freedom, our honor, and our living space with the last ounce of our strength. There is no group in Germany ready to collaborate with the enemy. If any individual harbors such criminal intentions, it will be rendered harmless wherever it becomes noticeable. (Cheering approval and applause.) We owe this to our dead as much as to the living, the soldiers at the front, and also to you workers at home. Anyone who threatens the security of the German people has forfeited their own life. War knows only harsh laws.

Millions of German soldiers must be ready today and are ready to die on the battlefield for their people. We would no longer deserve to lead this people if we tolerated even the slightest threat to their lives at home, regardless of who it comes from.

Our people fulfill their war duties as expected. Naturally, they feel the war harder in its fourth year than in its first. Besides, no one in Germany wanted or welcomed the war. That's not the point. What the bourgeois calls mood is not a decisive war factor. The wounds this drama of nations inflicts on us, as on all belligerents, are sometimes very painful. The flower of our youth is fighting. They must make the hardest blood sacrifices, often scarcely less than those made at home in the air war zones. The enemy gives us a taste with his brutal and cynical methods of what he has in store for us if we ever become weak.

But even in England, the frivolous phrases about a "delightful war" have fallen silent, and they no longer even want to be reminded of them. Who dares to speak of a superficial hurrah atmosphere in the face of the severe suffering that this worldwide struggle brings to all nations, even those not involved! Mood belongs to a family celebration or a Pentecost outing. War always demands a manly attitude from nations. This attitude is shown by the soldier who fulfills his tough duty under the harsh conditions of the fourth year of war or even the third in the barbaric East, risking his life a thousand times where the combat situation requires it, renouncing leave, civilian life, comfort, and peace at home to defend the life and freedom of his people. This attitude is shown by the worker and the farmer, who never think of evading the harsh conditions of the war and their work, and by millions of women and mothers who protect and feed their families, take the place of men at the machine or the plow, who go to the front without complaining, and even give birth to children to sustain the life of their people. All this requires something more than mood, which is changeable and can swing one way today and another tomorrow.

What can I say in praise of the hard-tested population in the air war zones! They resist the effects of the criminal enemy bomb terror with unparalleled heroism. Families lose all their belongings in one night, sometimes the father, sometimes the mother, sometimes a blooming group of children, and stand the next morning before the smoking ruins of their house or apartment, for which they saved and worked all their lives. Where else can

they find comfort but in the thought that these heavy sacrifices are necessary for the survival of the people and the nation, and that they must be made, bitter as they may be in individual cases, and that only an upright attitude in all the harshness of suffering gives the strength to endure them. The Jewish press agitators in London and Washington may well have the mood they miss in the German people. This is because they never feel the war themselves. The mood among their racial comrades in Germany is likely very different from theirs. This is because they must share in the war, which they themselves helped cause, to the extent they deserve. One may argue about the mood of the warring nations in the fourth year of the war. The National Socialist attitude of our people, however, is beyond any doubt. We Germans fulfill our hard war duties, fight and work with unparalleled fanaticism, thus securing the prerequisites for our coming victory, which will not be given to us but can only be earned through a great national sacrifice in which everyone participates.

All enemy attempts at seduction crash against this National Socialist attitude of the German people. It gives us the strength to endure patiently and with grim pride the eternal accompaniments of every war: setbacks, fateful twists, increased burdens, heavy sacrifices, and so on. That is why we do not talk about peace; we fight for it. We set our measures to ensure that we can hold out in the war under all circumstances until the enemy collapses. (Through lively demonstrations, the masses express their agreement and their unshakable will to win.) This is the unshakable basis and goal of our entire warfare. Under no circumstances will we allow any condition to develop that would prevent us from staying the course in the decisive last quarter hour. Consequently, we operate based on higher insight and foresight, taking timely measures in the interest of the secured continuation of the war that may be unpopular here and there but are the prerequisites for a victorious end to the war under all circumstances. This applies above all to the food sector.

The unusually harsh winter of 1941/42 led to enormous winter grain losses, the total loss of winter oil crops, and severe potato and vegetable losses. Consequently, around 1.7 million tons of barley had to be withdrawn from animal feed and used as bread admixture. Additionally, in the fall of 1942, the meat ration had to be increased to compensate for significant losses in other food areas. This, however, led to a severe reduction in livestock. The connection to the 1943 harvest is now secured. The potato and vegetable supply is also significantly better. Therefore, it was necessary to compensate

for the previous reduction in livestock to avoid serious consequences for the future. This required a reduction of the meat ration by one hundred grams per head per week. We were able to make small compensations in the fat and bread rations. However, these are, of course, not enough to replace the lack of one hundred grams of meat per head per week in terms of protein. Nevertheless, we had to take this harsh measure. Our food policy is long-term oriented. It manages supplies economically. Its supreme law is to redeem issued cards under all circumstances and never to create a situation where we could not continue the war to victory due to food shortages.

Everyone will understand and approve of this, even if this policy currently brings a new restriction for them. One must also not forget that millions of foreign workers have been transferred to the domestic production process, who must eat to be able to work, and that, with proud satisfaction, many hundreds of thousands of men have flocked to the flags. All this, of course, puts pressure on the food sector but also converts back into war potential.

If we have to make sacrifices at home, we at least know in this war what for. They seem to me bearable in terms of nutrition compared to the sacrifices the population in the air war zones has had to make almost every night for weeks and months. Our enemies attack them with brutal cynicism in their belongings and lives to undermine their war morale. They openly admit this. The German cultural values they destroy in the process will forever be their disgrace. But they want more. They wage war against the attitude of our people, kill civilian life, the elderly, women, and children, and hardly bother to cloak this infamous blood terror in a humane guise. (Repeated interruptions by expressions of disgust.) The Church of England recently declared hypocritically that bombs no longer make a distinction between men, women, and children here. This statement seems mild compared to the infernal outbursts of hatred and triumph that can be read in the London Jewish newspapers. We Germans today are not the kind of people who beg for mercy from an enemy bent on our destruction. We know there is only one effective remedy against British-American bomb terror: counter-terror. (The masses listen intently to each sentence of the minister. At this last statement, they break out in long-lasting, repeated demonstrations of stormy applause.)

The whole German people today are imbued with one thought: to repay like with like. (Another storm of enthusiasm breaks out.) We

are far from boasting or threatening. We merely record. Every English voice today that sees the bombing war against German women, the elderly, and children as a thoroughly humane or even Christian means to defeat the German people will one day provide us with a welcome justification for our response to these atrocities. (Repeated demonstrations underline this statement by the minister.) The British people have no reason to triumph. They will have to pay the bill that their responsible men, on behalf of their Jewish agitators, have run up through their blood guilt.

Until then, we must cope with the sometimes very harsh consequences of British-American air terror. We must endure this crime with gritted teeth at the moment. It is part of the war, and how our people bear it will largely determine the coming victory.

I was recently often in the air war zones of the West and Northwest and tried to get an on-site impression. The average citizen in the Reich has no idea what the population there has to endure, under what primitive conditions they sometimes have to rebuild their destroyed lives, but how high their morale and attitude always remains. Whoever elsewhere believes they must complain about this or that unavoidable war accompaniment should look to Essen, Dortmund, Bochum, Wuppertal, or the other cities in the air war zones and blush with shame that they dare compare their war-related worries and hardships with the suffering of the population there. (The masses express their sympathy and pride in the brave attitude of the population in the air war zones through stormy demonstrations.) If anyone has the right to complain, it is our population in the West and Northwest. But they do not. They fight with admirable spiritual strength and fanatical determination against fire and destruction, stand guard with men, women, and children during the bomb nights, protect, as far as possible, house and property, and perform miracles of bravery, against which British-American terror will ultimately fail. (Bravo shouts and prolonged applause.) Every scientist and researcher fighting the enemy's war technology in our laboratories, every worker and engineer building our new bomber weapon, every young pilot training from morning till night to one day strike back against the enemy criminals, they all should keep this part of our people in mind as they tirelessly work day and night to accelerate the hour of retribution. (Cheering approval interrupts the minister. Demonstrations express the burning hatred sown by British-American murder terror among the German people.)

I speak at this hour as a son of my West German homeland to all Germans, but especially to my closer compatriots. I know exactly what they have to endure these weeks. But I also know that they will oppose the suffering that befalls them personally or our and my homeland with an upright attitude. We borderlanders have always borne the heavy weight of national destiny; but just as neither the enemy occupiers nor the separatist hordes hired by them could break us in the years after the First World War, our cities and villages will remain unbroken under British bomb terror. The enemy can turn our houses into rubble and ashes; the hearts of the population burn with hatred, but they do not burn out. One day the hour of retribution will come (Strong applause.), and in gratitude for their proven heroism today, it will be the honorable duty of the entire nation to rebuild their cities and houses more beautifully than ever after the war. From the ruins, new life will blossom, and in the distant future, children and grandchildren will speak of the brave perseverance of their fathers and mothers who, through their heroism, wove a wreath of everlasting glory around the emblems of their proud cities.

As the English use the weapon of air war against us at the moment, we use the weapon of submarine warfare against them. Although the consequences of the air war are more visible to everyone, those of the submarine war are more devastating in the long run, inflicting deeper wounds and therefore being of more decisive significance. In the course of this war, over 26.5 million GRT of enemy shipping space have been sunk by the German navy and air force, including May. Only those who realize that the German submarine war in the First World War, with barely 12 million GRT, brought England to the brink of the abyss in 1917 and 1918 can grasp what that means.

Naturally, the English admitted this only after the war; during the war, however, they and the Americans boasted just as much as they do today about the alleged extent of their new constructions and doubted our sinking figures. Whatever the enemy manages to build today, it cannot catch up with our sinking figures. Besides, materials and labor used for shipbuilding are lost to their other war production. Their potential is by no means unlimited. As for the number of workers who form the basis of war production, they cannot compete with us. Only in boasting do they perhaps excel. But even American trees do not grow to the sky. We have every reason to take the

enemy's numerical fantasies with calm. We do not ignore them, but we do not overestimate them either.

It is in the nature of the struggle on the world seas that it proceeds with changing fortunes. Periods of greatest success are followed by setbacks, depending on the state of our attack weapons on the one hand and that of the enemy's defense weapons on the other, or vice versa. This struggle is therefore not only fought on the oceans, in the air, or on the battlefield but also in scientific institutes and laboratories. Every new attack technique is followed, after a certain time, by a new defense technique, but every new defense technique, according to experience, is again the cause of a new attack technique. This is especially true for a struggle where it is about life and death, as in submarine warfare. We can observe in this war that periods of greatest success of our submarines are followed by those of temporarily limited setbacks. But the enemy always triumphs too early when they consider such developments final. They have declared the submarine threat overcome so often and have then been convinced of the opposite in a short time that they actually have every reason to be very cautious in their forecasts. For example, in October 1940, we sank 629,000 GRT, but three months later, in January 1941, only 203,000, and three months later, in April 1941, 1,000,211 GRT of enemy shipping space again. Even then, the British Admiralty first triumphed when the numbers went down; three months later, however, the English public was again filled with a panic of submarine fear.

The fight on the world seas is hard and dangerous. It is conducted with increasing bitterness on both sides. The enemy knows what is at stake. Our submarine crews are aware of the war-deciding contribution they make through their efforts. In the end, the scale will tip in our favor. The enemy must expect devastating losses on this theater of war in the long run. Their lifelines will be severed again, and their chances of success will waver definitively. A war of such enormous proportions cannot be measured with a yardstick.

We only know one thing: the German people can be fully reassured. Their enormous efforts in the name of total war have not been in vain. They will come into play one day (Stormy bravo calls.); when and where, let our enemies worry about that. If they rave that the initiative has finally passed to them and that Germany's leadership waits in fear and trembling for where it

will unfold, the future will decide who has reason for such fear. We wait, but in a different sense than the enemy suspects.

Today, people talk about the invasion of Europe as if it were the most natural thing in the world. Above all, the Jews want the invasion, presumably because they will not be involved but will only accompany it with their battle songs. The English and American soldiers will have to pay a bloody bill. Our armed forces are ready to receive them. (Cheering approval and bravo calls.) Dunkirk and Dieppe stand as warning signs before a British-American invasion force. The commander of the American Legion, Roane Waring, recently stated upon his return from North Africa: "The American forces have suffered terrible losses. The losses are a multiple of what Eisenhower announced, and now it's just getting started. Tunis is just a skirmish compared to what awaits us in Europe."

The British military critic Cyril Falls adds this warning: "I only want to warn against underestimations here. The Allied troops would get bloody heads if they tried to run against the fortifications of the Axis powers. Europe will not be conquered quickly. We must not make the mistake of underestimating the fortifications in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Italy, or the Southeast. On the contrary, we must know that an assault on them will cost us much blood and tears."

Nevertheless, the Jews apparently push to play the bloody drama to the end. Churchill and Roosevelt are merely their executive organs.

It may be that this characterization of the enemy leadership clique appears too harsh to some over-objectivists; but it says what is meant. How else can one describe a world camarilla, one side of which talks of freedom, of necessity, and fear, while the other side in the forest of Katyn gives the neck shot to twelve thousand Polish officers, one side sings the church hymn "Onward, Christian Soldiers!" while the other turns churches into schnapps distilleries, one side claims to fight for the sovereignty of small states, while the other wants to plunge them into Bolshevik chaos, one side represents the starkest capitalism, while the other declares for the starkest collectivism. So many statements, so many contradictions! How else should one bring them to a common denominator than by assuming it is a gang of fraudsters striving for world domination and wanting to subjugate Europe in the sense of this Jewish world domination ambition. They had no other reason to cover us

with war than to bring down the last bastion against their treacherous Jewish-plutocratic-B

olshevik intentions. They rule vast and rich empires but have proven incapable of organizing them and making them serve their peoples. They resorted to war to subjugate the poor peoples and take from them the little they possess. This is a criminal world conspiracy, and either we will crush it, or decent and creative humanity will perish from it.

The enemy coalition gains nothing from trying to simulate an external alignment of their views today. The Soviets may dissolve their Comintern, but they are only like the ravenous wolf donning the sheep's clothing. The plutocrats may have social reform plans discussed in their bought newspapers, but the connoisseur immediately detects behind all this chatter the pitiless face of Jewish world capitalism aiming to seduce and narcotize the peoples of Europe. One would have to despair of the justice of the world and the sense of history if we were not ready to fight against this historical fraud attempt. It is only understandable that its criminal authors now want to erase the traces of their blood guilt as the peoples begin to awaken. Following the well-known Jewish method, they cry: "Not the murderer, the murdered is guilty!", fill the world with their hypocritical lamentations, throw overboard their old views and convictions, the intellectual documents of a crumbling world, where they become cumbersome and hindering, and pose before an astonished humanity as great reformers and world improvers, they who always stood in the way of any reasonable new order, yes, conjured the war to prevent it.

It is flattering to us that the Soviets, under the pressure of our comprehensive enlightenment, feel compelled to dissolve the Comintern, the instrument of their world destruction, at least in appearance. But the Jews in London and Washington rejoice too soon if they believe they can bring down the hated National Socialist enlightenment structure with it. A lying piece of paper cannot undo a practice marked by countless millions of tortured, starved, and murdered human victims. The tactical maneuvers of Bolshevism are only another reason for us to tirelessly enlighten the world about the planned crime here, as in the struggle period, even if it takes years to bring down the gruesome conspiracy.

In all countries, the work of the Jews is becoming increasingly apparent. It does them no good to mobilize parliaments and courts to protect their parasitic existence. It will not be long before the cry for the guilty of this terrible drama of nations goes through the world. We will ensure that this question also gets an answer. (Long-lasting demonstrations of approval.) In the fifteenth of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, it is written: "When the King of the Jews sets the crown on his sacred head, which Europe must offer him, he will be the patriarch of the whole world." Often in their history, the Jews have stood close to this triumph, as they believe today. But always in the last moment, their fall followed from the highest height to the deepest depth. Lucifer will fall again this time. (This statement by the minister triggers renewed stormy demonstrations.) Our Europe will not offer them the crown but the armored fist (Applause), and the Jew will not be the patriarch of the whole world but a leper, the scum, the victim of his own criminal ambition, who will fail against our strength and knowledge. (Another stormy applause.)

There is no room for sentimentality in the face of this world danger. It may be that some do not understand the Jewish problem in its depth, but that should not confuse us. The complete elimination of Jewry from Europe is not a question of morality but a question of the security of states. The Jew will always act according to his nature and racial instinct. He cannot do otherwise. Just as the Colorado potato beetle destroys potato fields, yes, must destroy them, so the Jew destroys states and peoples. There is only one remedy against this: the radical elimination of the danger. (Approval and calls from the crowd.) Look around in the enemy camp: wherever you look, Jews upon Jews. Jews behind Roosevelt as his brain trust, Jews behind Churchill as his inspirers, Jews as agitators and drivers in the entire Anglo-American-Soviet press, Jews in the corners of the Kremlin as the real bearers of Bolshevism. The international Jew is the cement that holds the enemy coalition together. He builds bridges through his worldwide connections between Moscow, London, and Washington. The war emanates from him; he leads it from the background, and he also wants to be its only beneficiary.

We face the most dangerous enemy in the world here. But he is not invincible. Just as we brought him down internally, so we will overthrow his power that now threatens us from outside. (Lively applause.) He still indulges in bloodthirsty fantasies of revenge. But that is good because it shows us his true face. A few days ago, one of his most prominent representatives

developed a new peace program of the White House. And it reads: "Total occupation of Germany and its subjection to an Anglo-Bolshevik-American military regime, takeover of the entire German administration, total dissolution of German industry, all German troops as labor battalions in the occupied territories, especially Siberia, for an indefinite period, Germany must never again become a power factor, all surpluses of agricultural production with the sparsest nutrition of the German people to the former enemy powers, Germany must not remain a unified state, the formation of a German national consciousness is forbidden, the incomes of German labor products shall only benefit the German people to the extent that it can barely nourish itself."

Is there a single person in Germany who even takes note of this program? It corresponds exactly to what the Jews of the Kremlin have on their program against us. We already know that. No one harbors illusions about it.

Even the small club of over-objectivists will now have to realize what the hour has struck. Today's Germany offers no field of activity for them anymore. Our dead have demands to make, but we living have only the duty to work and fight according to their silent call. Anyone who doubts victory does not deserve to belong to our community. (Through stormy demonstrations of approval, thousands express that Dr. Goebbels only spoke what everyone feels.) Whoever pays attention to the enemy's word is a traitor to our cause. (Growing applause.) Whoever weakens the German fighting power by spreading enemy rumors sins against the sacrificial spirit of our people, which is shrouded in the heroic death of hundreds of thousands of fallen soldiers. Therefore, the chattering subjects must be immediately countered. (Lively approval and calls: "Very right!") No matter how few they may be, the foreign enemy believes they can still rely on them. We want to live in a clean war atmosphere. Our people deserve to be protected against insane world apostles, even if they act unconsciously and represent a ridiculous minority.

Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister during the First World War, writes in his memoirs: "If Germany had had a Bismarck and Moltke as leaders instead of Bethmann-Hollweg and Falkenhayn, the outcome of the great struggle between military autocracy and democracy would most likely

have been different. Germany's mistakes saved us from the consequences of our own mistakes."

The strong national leadership that we lacked then is now present. (At these words, the crowd bursts into stormy demonstrations of reverence and confidence in the Führer.) It will ensure that the current British Prime Minister cannot say the same about the German people today at the end of this war.

Against rumor and chatter rises the harsh reality of this war. This is determined by the power of weapons and the power of hearts. The German people possess these in abundance. They just need to use them. Brave and loyal allies, the peoples of the Axis, who, like us, fight for their lives, stand by our side. Almost all of Europe works in the service of our warfare. It will also enjoy the fruits of our common struggle and diligence one day. Our continent will form a powerful continental community after victory, composed of free peoples dedicated to serving a common great cause. Only in this way can Europe survive at all. Otherwise, it would fall into its atoms and be an easy prey for anarchy and thus Bolshevism. No true European can want that.

I come to the end. Today more than ever, the German people are given their greatest historical opportunity in this war. Today more than ever, they have the duty to seize it for the sake of their own and their children's lives. The nation will prove worthy of the great hour, and therefore it will experience the proudest victory in its history. But it will not be given to us; we must earn it through constant perseverance in struggle and work. No one knows better than us how difficult and hard that is and how many bitter sacrifices it requires. Even harder, even tougher, and even more bitter, however, would be our entire future fate if we did not show ourselves capable of this great test. Every war has brought its historical tests. Only then does the inner hardness of a people show, and with it also their historical rank. No power on earth can spare us such tests; they are determined by fate and must be passed if we do not want to succumb to them. But after overcoming them, as the great Prussian king once said, the sky clears and becomes bright again. We have experienced this too often in this war to forget it. Only the male courage with which one took on the blows of fate and eventually overcame them remains.

The German people have the great fortune over the peoples of the enemy coalition to stand on a firm ideological ground. We do not need to throw our program overboard to meet the demands of this war; on the contrary, it is only confirmed by it. When we have mastered this war, a new epoch of German ascent, German socialism, and German national power development begins for all of us.

The great teachings of the party, which we enforced in a fourteen-year struggle for power, are today guiding stars for the entire people in this world struggle. Their enduring power also testifies to the people's strength for the great war trials. If Germany is united and marches according to the rhythm of its revolutionary socialist view, then it is invincible. The indestructible will to live of our people guarantees this, but above all, the compelling power of the Führer's personality guarantees it. (Stormy, jubilant approval; minutes-long demonstrations honoring the Führer fill the vast hall.)

We cannot yet fully grasp what it means to see a man at the nation's head in this fateful struggle who embodies the people's will to live and confidence in victory. We mainly lost the World War because we lacked a great leading personality. We will win this war because it is here this time. (Renewed enthusiastic approval.) Our victory chances then were not comparable to our present ones, and yet we would have won victory, even according to the British Prime Minister's judgment, if a strong national leadership had stood at the nation's head. Today we have it. What more do we need to believe in victory! Every adversity of war luck only strengthens this belief. In the war's ups and downs, we turn our eyes to the Führer to strengthen our own power through his strength. We are unbeatable unless we defeat ourselves. The German people are further from this suicidal intention today than ever. Let the enemy continue the fight against our nerves with cunning, malice, and treachery; no one will do them the favor of yielding. They must come with weapons, and on the field, our soldiers will give them the appropriate answer.

Germany stands with its allies against the most infernal conspiracy against human freedom that history knows. We do not need to fear its threat. We stride towards it with heads held high. It will fall under the strokes of the German sword, however many times they may have to be repeated until its fall. The enemy knows no mercy. So let us cast away all softness of heart, all feelings of pity and naive credulity. The German people have been forced to

defend their lives. They will fight wherever an opportunity presents itself. But at the end of this fight stands our victory.

Our enemies do not want to believe it. We will prove it to them. (When the minister finishes, a roaring, unending storm of applause breaks out. The masses leap to their feet in enthusiastic demonstrations for the minister.)

The Motive Forces

June 6, 1943

It is unmistakable that anti-Bolshevism and, consequently, anti-Semitism have seen a significant increase in all warring countries during this war and especially in the past six months. This is partly due to the prolonged duration of the war, but also to our extraordinarily intensive propaganda work on the fundamental problems of this global struggle, which extends across the entire world. Never before have people been so open to new insights and understandings as they are today. The great suffering that the war brings makes them more receptive to a proper elucidation of the backgrounds and connections of this tragic world event. People are searching for the causes and motives of the terrible catastrophe, and while the old superficial phrases against us are still being parroted in the capitals of the enemy alliance, the common man is already finding his own way out of the dilemma into which the nations and continents have fallen. This process is slow and almost imperceptible, but its progress is nevertheless unmistakable over time. One only needs to compare English and American newspapers from 1941 with those of today to easily see that a revolution in public thinking has taken place, reversing the true objectives of our enemies in this war into their exact opposite.

Humanity must pay dearly for this relearning process, but it also brings considerable benefits. Our enemies are retreating along the entire line before our intellectual and ideological offensive. It is not the plutocratic-Bolshevik-Jewish ideology that has made progress in its impact on world opinion, but ours. The former must retreat more and more, while the latter is on the advance. This explains why anti-Bolshevism and anti-Semitism are steadily gaining importance among all peoples, even in enemy countries, although they can hardly be publicly mentioned there. The Jews are on the verge of losing the game, no matter how hard they try to save what can still be saved from their position. They started a reckless game with fire and are now slowly being seen through and unmasked by the affected peoples, whom they have chosen as the victims of their treacherous desires and intentions.

It is known that the Jewish race masters the art of public deception and camouflage like no other and has achieved great skill in adapting to given facts. Judaism practices mimicry wherever it proves necessary and expedient. But experience teaches that this method is only a means to deceive the peoples even more effectively. It would be naive to believe that the Jews change their plans along with their camouflage. As adaptable and flexible as they are in their tactical methods, they are equally consistent and persistent in pursuing their political and economic goals. Since these goals aim at world domination, their combat methods must be very adaptable and should not conflict with the existing conditions in individual states. In conservative countries, Jews play the role of state preservers just as skillfully as they play the role of revolutionary elements in revolutionary countries. Both disguises are merely aids for their racially determined intentions to conquer the world. Both plutocracy and Bolshevism are characteristic expressions of Jewish nature. In a word, what lies behind is always the same, no matter how different it may appear outwardly.

For over twenty years, National Socialist propaganda has seen its main task in enlightening our own people and other peoples about the immense dangers arising from this. In this struggle, it has become the main adversary of Jewish aspirations for world domination. Judaism has since left no stone unturned to absorb or divert the heavy blows dealt by us. This is understandable since it is fighting not only for world domination but also for its racial survival. It does not mind changing its tactics as needed, throwing its current methods and presentations overboard without hesitation if they prove useless or not leading to the goal, and adopting a new tactic without any scruples. Given the Jews' notorious talkativeness, this only works for a short time, as they immediately reveal their cards when they believe they hold enough trumps or have already won the game. Apart from that, we remain constantly on their heels, never losing sight of them and following their tactical maneuvers with the eye of a connoisseur who has gained rich experience through much practice. The Jews cannot deceive us. They know this, which is why they harbor an infernal hatred against us.

The latest example of this Jewish tactic is the following: For months, we have been carrying out comprehensive enlightenment about the nature of Bolshevism, Judaism, and their connection with international plutocracy to our own people and the world public. It cannot be denied that this propaganda is gradually gaining ground even in enemy countries, not to

mention neutral states. Voices from around the world reach our ears, reporting an increased suspicion among the peoples about the Jewish question and the issues of Bolshevism and plutocracy. The great Jewish conspiracy is on the verge of being unmasked. Since the Jews are fully aware that nothing could weaken their position more than an open fight with us, man to man, they decided to evade once again. This decision was undoubtedly concocted by the Jews behind Roosevelt and suggested to the Jews behind Stalin. The result was the sudden sham dissolution of the Communist International. They removed the stumbling block from the path.

One only needed to observe the well-rehearsed theater between the Moscow Jews on one hand and the London and Washington Jews on the other for a moment to know immediately what was being played here. The Moscow Jews brazenly falsified the date of the dissolution decree of the Comintern and placed it before the delivery of the well-known Roosevelt letter to Stalin. The London and Washington Jews feigned surprise and then, on the Moscow cue, burst into the pre-arranged rapturous enthusiasm just like on stage. The theater they presented to us was so brazen that it was almost insulting. The Jews did not rate the intelligence of the so-called public opinion too highly, and as experience shows, they were not entirely wrong. In any case, they sought to create the impression worldwide that this crude trick had removed any feared Bolshevization of the world, that our propaganda had been shown to be a bogeyman, that the Kremlin powers should be counted among the honorable people who would not harm a fly, and that nothing stood in the way of full harmony between the Bolshevik and plutocratic world.

As already mentioned, there are always some fools among the Jews who, in the intoxication of even a sham success, reveal their true intentions with a talkativeness that serves their deeper purposes only little. So it was here. They openly triumphed that they had outwitted our propaganda, thereby proving all too clearly that it had not missed its effect on world opinion and that the expressed purpose of the sham dissolution of the Comintern was to paralyze this effect. There is no need to waste words on the fact that the Kremlin will find enough ways to continue the Bolshevik world revolution even without the official presence of the Comintern. We consider the communist parties in the various countries, especially in England itself, to be much more dangerous if they disguise themselves nationally and can thus contaminate public life unhindered, than if they are openly recognized and

declared as Stalin's foreign legions. They will undoubtedly now attempt to infiltrate workers' and trade union movements, and the reason previously given by these movements for refusing their entry, that they took their orders from a central office outside the country, can no longer be brought forward without casting doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet allies' word.

As you can see, the chess move of the Jewish Kremlin is well thought out on all sides and is the best testimony to the Bolshevik-Jewish art of deception. The world public would undoubtedly fall for it if it were not for us. The Jews in the plutocratic states, who skillfully pass the ball to those in Moscow, are eagerly working to persuade Anglo-American public opinion that the last obstacle to full intellectual and ideological reconciliation between Bolshevism and plutocracy has now fallen. And since, in any alliance between radicalism and democracy, the latter always suffers, it is to be assumed that England and the USA, through the Moscow decision, which their newspapers celebrate so enthusiastically, are only getting deeper into the dead end.

The tactics that the Kremlin will now adopt are easy to predict. We know them all too well from the practice that the communists in the Reich used to follow on Moscow's orders before the takeover of power. When they were banned in one of the German states, they fled to the Red Aid or some other organization already set up for that purpose, and the state governments, lacking the courage to uproot communism completely, were usually glad to allow their official organization again after a short time, as they at least had it under control and could hold its leadership responsible for its criminal policies, while their cover organizations were entirely uncontrollable and thus already posed a public danger of the first order. We assume that this state of affairs will soon be on the agenda in England and the United States, and will not fail to regularly point out this extremely dangerous development to the affected peoples. It is downright silly when the Jews in London and Washington try to convince themselves and their countries that the entire National Socialist propaganda structure has collapsed due to the Moscow falsification. We are not even surprised by the Soviet decision, but see it only as a confirmation of our old suspicion. We will not be its sufferers; rather, certainly, the peoples who fall for it and, according to the old German proverb, choose their butchers themselves.

The whole fraud maneuver is classic evidence of a massive intellectual crisis brewing on the enemy side. It announces itself with unmistakable signs. When Bolshevism puts on the sheep's clothing, it usually has the immediate intention of acting as a ravenous wolf. This will also be the case here. The Jews are playing their last cards. We have pushed so close with our intellectual attack that they must either fight or continually perform new evasive maneuvers. This one is as clumsy and brazen as one could wish. The festering wound of modern humanity has been covered by a bandage, but it continues to fester. It will undoubtedly eat inwardly into the tissue since its path outward is blocked. England and the United States will still experience their rude awakening. Those who feed on Jews will die from it.

It must be a great satisfaction for the Axis nations to stand alone on a firm ideological ground in this intellectually wavering and disrupted world. Generally, ideas are not highly valued in war. However, they are the motive forces of military and political development. The war has not shattered our own worldview but has only confirmed it. Anyone who did not know at the beginning of the war what we were fighting for and what we had to defend has become fully aware of it during its course. No one knows better than us the suffering and sorrow that it brings to our people. If we repeatedly insist on enduring its torments with dignity, it is primarily because we recognize that a true hell awaits us if we were to collapse under them. There is no other path for our people than the one pointed out by daily duty. It may be hard, but it is nevertheless easier compared to what would happen if we neglected it. We are facing the infernal enemy of our national life and our race in Jewry and its auxiliary nations. The struggle we have to endure with them is a matter of life and death. We must win it, for otherwise, all would be lost.

In this struggle, the development proceeds step by step. The enemy plays their game, and we play ours. The stakes are the highest imaginable. Therefore, we must go to work with the utmost exertion of physical and mental strength, nerve strength, and intelligence. Whoever loses their breath first has lost. Let no one forget this in the storms and pains of the time, especially when our moral resilience is attacked with the aim of wearing it down, and it thus becomes the only weapon with which we can defend ourselves against it.

On the Work of the Mind

June 13, 1943

Evaluating a political or military situation is not only a matter of intelligence but also of temperament. As in private life, the general character disposition of a person is the main driving force of general opinion formation in public life. This, again, is closely related to the relativity of events, which may lead us to see a certain situation as a trifle tomorrow that causes us the greatest concern today. War is a great transformer, including in the formation of judgments. It forces people to measure its dramatic events by the standards it sets, and anyone who lacks the mental flexibility to adjust to the dimensions given by it will always make incorrect judgments. Today, we still often encounter people who analyze the current situation according to rules that may have been appropriate during the Polish campaign but no longer hold any probative value for the present state of affairs. They do not want to understand that the war has not only temporally but also dimensionally expanded immensely, that today entirely different stakes are at play than in the fall of 1939, and that it therefore requires completely different sacrifices and efforts to master them.

This war is a life-and-death struggle for all involved nations. For this reason alone, it does not proceed in a straight line but in waves with valleys and peaks. In none of its predecessors has modern technology played such a decisive role as in this one. It is being fought as much in our scientists' and researchers' laboratories as on the battlefields themselves. Unlike the First World War, it is not so much about mass-producing essentially unchanged or only slightly modified weapons but about perfecting weapon technology itself so that it can present new results of its work at the right moment and making production so flexible that it can adapt to the latest models in the shortest possible time.

This applies especially to modern technical weapons, such as the air force, submarines, and tanks. Here, development proceeds in a constant ebb and flow. Every new attack method brings a new defense method, and every new defense method usually immediately causes a new attack method. The struggle in this area never finds a final decision. One can hardly hope and

does not need to fear that one side in the war will possess a weapon that gives it an unassailable lead until the war's end. Once such a weapon is used in battle, it soon comes to the enemy's knowledge, and after a relatively short time, they usually have a counterweapon available. The war is thus not only a contest of physical force but also of intellectual force, more so today than ever before.

The nation does not yet realize what military successes it owes to the inventive and research work of our physicists, chemists, engineers, and designers. They are the pioneers of modern war technology. As little as their activities are publicly mentioned, their contribution to success appears significant to the expert. When occasionally certain intellectual degenerations are criticized dismissively, our intellectual workers are the least meant by it. The type of intellectuals rightfully criticized here is characterized by a complete immaturity of general judgment, which mainly rests on half-education. They know a little about everything but too little about each subject to contribute meaningfully. Their opinion formation remains entirely superficial because it no longer comes from instinct, which has withered under the influence of their half-knowledge, but from a shallow pseudo-education that is entirely unstructured and therefore utterly inadequate. They fully deserve the sharp criticism they receive. In times of general tension, they are the most unpleasant moral phenomenon one can imagine.

Hats off, however, to the German researcher and inventor who may content himself with a general judgment on military and political issues because he lacks the prerequisites, time, and opportunity for deeper analysis but who serves the nation on his specific field in a way that cannot be valued highly enough. He has due respect for the great military and political fate struggle of his people because he knows from his own work how many painstaking and self-denying experiments are often necessary to achieve a lasting success in a decisive question. While the intellectual from his half-education lacks any respect for real achievement because he never achieves one himself, the truly educated person will always bow to it because he honors in it his own restless pioneering and researching spirit, striving for the same perfection through useful deeds in the service of the community.

It is not the blandness of judgment that is so irritating in the intellectual; more than that, it is the arrogance with which he usually presents his judgment. This is dangerous for harmless and primitive people without

sharply reacting life instincts and common sense because it leaves no response to the overbearingness of pseudo-knowledge. True education is always modest and therefore very reserved in expressing opinions. Half-education, on the other hand, appears bold and presumptuous, throwing around indigestible phrases and pseudo-arguments that bewilder non-experts and confuse minds and hearts. This has always been the most receptive antenna for Jewish argumentation. The Jew is the prototype of this half-education, which in him is paired with a brazen arrogance that stifles any contradiction in the bud. Certain circles of our intellectual half-education fall for it the easiest. They were the ones who, during the Weimar period, participated in every nonsense of expressionist-dadaist art and literature out of pure fear of being seen as unmodern by the Jews.

Today, in the last remaining examples, they behave similarly in forming their judgments about the war. Among them are still some representatives who consider it beneath their dignity to adopt an opinion shared by the general public. They fundamentally stand on the opposite side. Their nature is entirely empty and brutalized, thus incapable of any deeper national feeling. They lack the warming power of faith, which is always a prerequisite for manly courage and brave steadfastness. There is no nonsense from enemy agitation they do not repeat, no matter how stupid and crude it is, and it openly bears the mark of intention against our national interests on its forehead. If rumors circulate in the country, they undoubtedly come from this kind of grumbler. No nonsense is stupid enough; they spread it. It doesn't bother them that the enemy relies on them daily to deceive their own public opinion, that German morale will eventually collapse, and the war will find the favorable end they hardly hoped for. If they had sufficient intelligence and were not merely intellectuals, they would already recognize the severe damage they inflict on the fatherland and how contemptible their behavior is.

There is no point in trying to convince them. They cannot be convinced. Any other person is accessible to logical reasoning, but not them. For example, even after Austria's Anschluss to the Reich, several tens of thousands responded with "No" in the subsequent vote on whether they approved of the formation of Greater Germany. How can one assume that they would now, under the heavy burdens of the war, possess the maturity of judgment to distinguish the timely and sometimes painful from the historical? No leadership in the world has such a unified following of its people as ours, yet even it must accept that, while the captain, officers, and the entire crew

tirelessly work to steer the throbbing ship of our lives through storm-tossed waves into the harbor of safe and happy peace, a few passengers sulk in corners, exclude themselves from the solidarity of common work, and occasionally voice their concerns, discontent, or feelings of fear. They must be pushed aside if they become bothersome while working. Otherwise, they are utterly harmless and deserve less attention than the contempt of their fellow human beings.

We must occasionally write a few words in their album to prevent them from becoming overconfident, even at the risk that our opponents will refer to it and infer some notable opposition to our war effort within the German people. Everyone knows that this does not exist, and it does us no harm if enemy propaganda nourishes itself on such false hopes. They will sooner or later be disproved by the facts. From the first day of the National Socialist regime, our opponents have always clung to the few tens of thousands who opposed us and not to the countless millions who support the new Reich and work and fight for it today. Hence most of the enemy's misjudgments since 1933, and hence also today their entirely false and erroneous judgment about the war morale of the German people. If they currently believe they can break this through their brutal air terror, they are encouraged and supported in this belief by that small circle of discontented people. Only in this respect do they pose a danger against which we must defend ourselves. Otherwise, they are entirely insignificant. They must be treated from above; they deserve nothing else.

If we are addressing this issue today, it is mainly to protect the German intellectual worker, who does more than his duty and can claim a considerable share in our successes, against this type of person. Perhaps the definition of intellectualism as a cleverly disguised form of intellectual poverty has confused some representatives of our genuinely educated segment, making them believe they are also attacked where they are not meant. We maintain personal contact with countless intellectual workers from the worlds of science and art and owe them more inspiration, encouragement, good advice, and enthusiastic cooperation in all questions to which they are called than we can say today. We count ourselves modestly among the intellectual workers and would disgrace our profession, and worse, our calling, if we allowed or participated in subjecting them to public contempt, which they, like no other class of our people, deserve.

Germany owes its world fame more to its artists, scholars, scientists, researchers, and inventors than to its statesmen, soldiers, and economists. Even today, they hold the cultural heritage of the nation in their hands, which our soldiers defend on the front lines. A regime without deep respect for intellectual work could not exist in the long run. Our contempt is only for that degenerate intellectualism that has led the twentieth century into the shallow waters of half-education and pseudo-civilization and thus represents the great intellectual danger of our time. Our people stand on the border between a still awake life instinct and an increasingly refined culture and education, which can only partially replace it. Between them lies the marshy ground of ailing intellectualism, which we must cross without serious endangerment to our national tasks. Vigilance is needed here, in peace and more so in war. Those who stumble and fall here are lost forever.

Our researchers and scientists, our artists and inventors, our great technicians and engineers can rest assured. Their contribution to the war will not be forgotten. The countless days and nights of their silent but persistent work already bear fruit in the overall conduct of this war and help achieve victory. A people without respect for intellectual work would soon give no more opportunity for any intellectual worker to develop and operate. This is a prerequisite for national lasting success. This war is being fought on all fields of our lives. It is a communal effort of the entire people in the best sense of the word. The intellectual worker contributes to it just as much as the manual worker. The furrowed brow of the German researcher and inventor is therefore as much a badge of honor in these hard times as the calloused fist of the German worker and farmer.

Only the outsider who has no sense of community and thus always tries to evade its tasks and duties remains contemptible in comparison. He believes he stands above things and stands only below them. He has no part in the war. We will ensure that he remains without part in the victory as well.

In the Front Row

Speech at the Memorial Service in the Elberfeld City Hall

June 18, 1943

It is a sad and moving occasion that brings me back today to this city of my early manhood. I stand here as the representative of the Führer and the entire German people to bid farewell to the fallen of Wuppertal, who lie as victims on the rubble field of British air terror. For both the front and the homeland to see, I wish to bow in mourning and pride on this occasion before all those fallen civilians who paid for their loyalty to the Reich with their lives in the air war zones. Personally, this moment is particularly poignant for me because it concerns a city where I experienced the most beautiful years of my political struggle.

Countless great and proud memories connect me with this city, its people, and the people of the entire Rhineland-Westphalian provinces. I speak to you as a son of this peaceful land, praised in songs, who, wherever his political duty may have led him, has never severed the intimate bonds that tie him to his homeland. I lived and worked among its people for many years. Here lie the roots of my public work. In this city, in the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, a circle of loyal National Socialist comrades first formed around me. From here, we carried the flag of the National Socialist revolution far into the Rhineland and the Ruhr area. It is our shared homeland before whose fallen we bow at this moment.

If I return here today to bid farewell to the dead of this city, I count among them with sorrow many people personally close to me, with whom I shared countless hours of joy and cheerfulness, but also of worry and disappointment in the eternal struggle for the Reich. I thus have the right to speak to you not only as the Führer's envoy on behalf of the entire German people but also on behalf of the heavily tested population of these beautiful provinces in the broadest public view. I express the feelings of mourning and proud defiance that move the hearts of all Germans these days. The suffering and pain that enter many families in the hard-hit cities of the air war zones are part of the suffering and pain that the entire German people feel today for

their dear dead. Just as we jointly carried and brotherly shared the joys and proud elevations of our national life in the great past, so we jointly carry and brotherly share today the suffering and pain that the war brings to so many German families.

I stand here among you to tell you, my Rhineland-Westphalian compatriots, that the population of these provinces fights its difficult battle neither alone nor in a lost cause. The entire German people stand with you, surrounding you with their love and loyalty. With proud admiration, the nation looks upon the stubborn endurance of this part of our people against enemy air terror, which may lay cities and villages in ruins but can never break the hearts of the people. The immense worries and burdens, pains, and torments placed on the shoulders of this population are part of the overall war. It is a duty of honor for the German nation to take as much of this burden from them as possible, immediately and without hesitation. Whatever can already be done to alleviate their material suffering is being done. The Reich government is tirelessly working to provide help in cooperation with local party and administrative offices. If the enemy turns their houses and homes into rubble, they can be assured that the entire German people, after achieving victory, will consolidate their immense material strength to rebuild the destroyed villages and cities of these provinces more beautifully than ever. New life will bloom from the ruins that surround us today. The lost possessions will be fully replaced, and even now, we are doing everything to allow the population to continue living, albeit in a primitive manner. But there will always be a part that remains unresolved. We cannot return the dead to life. They fell on the field of honor in the struggle for Germany's freedom and greatness, just like the soldier on the front. Whether man, woman, or child, they felt in their last moments the cynicism of an enemy who, through his malicious and treacherous air terror, attempts the cruel act of breaking the war morale of a people he cannot conquer by force of arms. I hardly need to waste more words on this. We all know what this war is about. The enemy has often enough screamed into our faces that, if we were weak, he would impose a peace on us that would make the war seem a blessing in comparison.

Against such a vile attempt to eradicate the greatest and proudest cultural nation on earth, the German nation rises in united strength, strong in arms but also strong in the hearts of its men, women, and children. With unparalleled moral fortitude, it defies in the provinces, which the enemy

targets first with his treacherous wishes, the cowardly threat to its national honor, unity, and steadfastness. Our dead are our witnesses. We feel obligated only to them. When we lay them to rest in the maternal earth, we know they rest in the same honorable grave where our soldiers sleep on the fronts. Their legacy is taken up by the German people. The day will come when we can and will avenge them.

I want to speak loudly and clearly at this hour so that no one can miss my words. I stand here as an accuser before the world public. I accuse an enemy whose brutal air terror aims at nothing more than to torment a defenseless civilian population, to overwhelm it with suffering, cruelty, pain, and death, to coerce it into betraying its national cause. Such an attempt can never succeed, but the national reputation of the peoples whose governments resort to such despicable and treacherous means of warfare against women, the elderly, and children will be forever covered in shame.

The enemy knows very well that the damage he can inflict on our armaments and war industry is of only relative value. That is not his primary goal. His main aim is to torment the defenseless civilian population, to bring death into their homes, and thereby attempt to break the German war morale. He sees this as the last resort in his otherwise hopeless warfare. Numerous murdered women, the elderly, and children testify against the Anglo-American plutocracies. They join me in accusing a warfare that mocks all humanity. Countless destroyed schools, hospitals, churches, and cultural monuments in the air war zones raise their remnants like accusing hands to proclaim to the world their condemnation of a warfare guilty of such crimes.

It is useless for the enemy to try to reverse the roles according to the old method of his Jewish backers, making the accused the accuser and vice versa. The guilt for the air war against the civilian population lies unequivocally with the Western plutocracies. The enemy can never wash this guilt away. This kind of air terror was born in the sick minds of the plutocratic world destroyers. The Führer has left no stone unturned to avoid war and, when it was forced upon us, at least to conduct it humanely. Above all, England has dismissed all these attempts. From the murder of children in Freiburg on May 10, 1940, to this day, a long chain of suffering and deepest human distress in all German cities afflicted by the British-American bomb war testifies against England and the USA and their cowardly and cruel plutocratic leadership.

The enemy openly admits his guilt in unguarded moments. He makes no secret of the fact that his air war aims to break the moral resistance of the German people at home. An official speaker of the English radio recently said with cynical openness: "One always finds oneself rejoicing when men, women, and children are forced to suffer terribly." It is equivalent to a direct call for the murder of German women and children when a British news agency wrote long before: "For heaven's sake, start dealing with the German civilian population, for it is proven that this is the only way to break their morale." Even the Church of England recently stated on this issue: "We cannot sympathize with the movement to stop air attacks on cities because civilians are killed. For the bomber, we are all equal. The bombs make no distinction between men, women, and children."

Thus speaks the Church of England. Anglo-American conduct of war extends this statement to mean not only that it makes no distinction between men, women, and children, but that it does not even want to make one. It consciously and cynically brings war into the rear areas, turning civilian land into a war zone and thus forcing women, elderly, and children to live and fight like soldiers. Thus, not only at the war fronts but also here, the military fate and future of our people are decided. The children who fall victim to enemy terror in the air war zones pave the way for millions of children in the future of the Reich. The women who expire under enemy bomb terror in these areas give millions of women in the coming decades and centuries the right and opportunity to give life to children again. When I speak to you to recall with warmest sorrow and proudest solidarity the fallen of this city and all air war zones of the Reich, I know that I speak from the deepest heart for the population of these provinces. For them, the sacrifice of life that so many of their compatriots must make for the freedom and future of the fatherland is merely another reason and obligation to continue to oppose the enemy air terror with defiant tenacity in the future as well. It is not customary to express hatred at open graves. Death usually has something reconciliatory alongside the suffering it brings. But in this case, it cries out for retaliation. For the dead, whose memory we solemnly commemorate today, have fallen victim to the cold, calculating cynicism of the adversary. This cynicism will only end when it is crushed by painful, repeated counter-blows. Through my mouth, the German people vow to our dead that we understand their sacrifice in this sense and therefore it has not been in vain. The day will come when we break terror with counter-terror. The enemy

heaps violence upon violence, creating a bloody account that must one day be settled. Countless workers, engineers, and designers are at work to hasten that day. I know that the German people await it with burning impatience. I know what thoughts fill all hearts when we solemnly commemorate the memory of our fallen in the air war. In these hearts, the enemy has inscribed in indelible letters, in the sorrowful and distressing weeks behind us, a confession of guilt that will one day be presented to him as a counter-account and justification for our actions.

Until then, let the population of these regions draw strength from their National Socialist steadfastness to endure the heavy and heaviest burdens. The entire nation watches their struggle with bated breath. The cities that stand unbroken in fire and amidst their rubble weave an unwithered laurel wreath around their coats of arms. When, on the joyous day of victory that we not only long for but for which we fight and work with all our might, the bells open their brazen mouths over the Reich, then also on the burned ruins of these destroyed streets and houses, the flags of our Reich will rise high; more than any other province, the west and northwest of the Reich can then say: The war has placed us in the forefront of the fighting home front. With us, it had taken its place in its cruelest form. Now, we are also the first to have the right to bow before the goddess of history to receive the laurels of victory.

On Speaking and Silence

June 20, 1943

Not only the government occasionally has the duty to remain silent during wartime, but also the people. There are certain phases in political or military developments where even a single word too many can cause the greatest disaster. It's not that this word couldn't be spoken because of its truth. It must not be spoken for the unquestionable benefit that the enemy would derive from it. Especially in periods of war that conclude certain stages and initiate new ones, silence is worth more than gold. No one can accuse the leadership of the Reich of avoiding open words in critical situations. It has never shunned accountability to the people regarding the political or military situation. The author believes he is the only serving minister of a warring nation who addresses a broader public weekly, presenting his opinion on current issues in precisely defined statements. Nevertheless, there are limits to his publications, especially where national interest begins. He would certainly be able to say much more than he does if not for these constraints, undoubtedly more pleasant than unpleasant. But the enemy listens; even though revealing information to the people would usually cause no harm, warfare today, as always, requires surprises for the enemy, which can be deployed as needed. There is a widespread misconception among the German people that only the government is denied the right to make mistakes. Certain circles demand not only that it correctly analyze an existing situation but also accurately predict the future. This clearly exaggerated demand leads to a series of errors and misconceptions that urgently need clarification. It cannot be denied that the German leadership has made the fewest false predictions during this war. This is evidenced by the fact that it is most frequently criticized for this in enemy countries. If it had erred as often as, for example, the British, it would hardly be worth it, as the critic would likely not know where to begin or end. Error can only be successfully criticized when it is the exception rather than the rule. But even in this case, the over-objectivism of certain hypocritical truth fanatics among us is confirmed, who are willing to forgive any mistake of a foreign government out of fear of doing it injustice, but not even one of our own out of fear of allowing justice to prevail. There are few people who correctly foresaw the course of the war in September 1939. Undoubtedly, its duration was misjudged by a certain part of the

German people, but its successes were also clearly underestimated. They neither believed they would be in the year 1943 nor in war, nor would they win such worldwide fronts as our soldiers actually defend today. Over time, the dimensions of the war have grown, and with the dimensions of the war, so has its duration. Not only have we shaped the development, but it has also drawn us into the whirlpool of events. At the beginning of the war, we knew that our century would now open its chasms to reveal its deepest problems; but that these problems were of such intercontinental breadth, only a few of us knew. In this war, much more is at stake for the Reich than most of us could have imagined at its beginning. A certain part of our people lived in a time of mitigated error before it; it knew the danger, but was by no means clear about its size and urgency. Here too, the war has been our teacher. In war, there is an unavoidable destiny that always appears where it is least expected and can hardly be avoided. It continually presents new tasks that require vigilance, courage, and decisiveness. Only arrogant people can believe they are beyond error. So a part of our people did not entirely predict one development or another in the war. But compared to British predictions, this fact seems quite tame. In any case, at the beginning of this struggle, we knew that we would now have to fight for our lives and that it would require many sacrifices to master the associated dangers, while the British government spoke of a charming war and, so to speak, of a walk to Berlin. In 1939, we would never have dared to speak of a light overrun, for example, of the Maginot Line; but the English then hung their laundry on the Siegfried Line. However, the British people are more indifferent to such serious errors than we are. Had we sung such or similar songs about the Maginot Line and then, say, been driven back to the Elbe, the German people would probably curse a government and criticize it, the only one who taught them, so light-heartedly, to misunderstand the war. The English still sing their song about the Siegfried Line today, without feeling evil about it. They forgive their government every error. On the other hand, it is eager to find fault with the German leadership, even the smallest presumed error, hoping to find the approval of at least part of the German people. We have certainly achieved far more successes that we did not predict than successes that we did. If a part of our public opinion, at least in terms of the duration of the campaign, the negative side has been estimated, has misjudged the positive side of the west. And despite that we have also achieved material and spatial successes in the east, beyond the beginning of the war even could.

Immortal German Culture

Speech at the Opening of the 7th Great German Art Exhibition

June 26, 1943

Imagine removing Germany's and Italy's contribution from Western art and culture, and only a certain part will remain. This observation, however cliché it may be, must be reiterated from time to time to firmly rebut the arrogant claims of our enemies. They enjoy presenting themselves to the world as protectors and defenders of an art and culture they did not create themselves, or to which they contributed only modestly, contributions that appear dispensable without causing their entire structure to collapse. Most of the art treasures they possess were plundered during their military campaigns across Europe or in distant lands. They have achieved few cultural accomplishments of their own, or if they have, it was merely through the spirit and cultural consciousness of a continent they now seek to destroy or obliterate. Cities like Nuremberg and Munich, or Florence and Venice, contain more eternal expressions of Western cultural spirit than the entire North American continent combined; and what musicians can the English present compared to Beethoven or Richard Wagner, or what visual artists can the Americans oppose to Michelangelo or Leonardo da Vinci? They speak only of the culture of humanity; but we possess it, and today, we are its guardians, trustees, and protectors.

This must be continually recalled to fully understand and appreciate the deeper meaning of the gigantic struggle that the Axis powers face in this war. This time, it is indeed about the most fundamental values that Europe has produced in its millennia-long history, and even more so, about the actual generative forces from which these values derive in the past, present, and future. Europe's life roots are under attack and threatened. The peoples who have made the greatest contribution to what we call the Western world are engaged in a defensive struggle for their material and spiritual existence. If they were to prematurely abandon this struggle, as they did in 1918 and 1919, they would lose it, and our continent would be lost for all future times, solely because the roots of its growth, which have borne such splendid flowers and fruits over two millennia, would be severed.

It is, of course, foolish and easily refuted when our enemies claim they are only fighting the current regimes of the Axis powers, not their peoples. Firstly, they have always said this in the past, only to forget it when they act, as in 1918 and 1919. Secondly, these regimes are simply the natural expression of the modern political thinking of their peoples. For them, there is no other form of suitable coexistence today. The assertion that their autocratic structure stifles art and makes its further development impossible can be disproven as much by theory as by current practice. These regimes are not as autocratic as they are made out to be. In any case, they exhibit stronger democratic features than traditional democracies. Furthermore, cultural history from all times and peoples proves that art does not depend much on the political system under which it lives for its prosperity. Churches and secular buildings, whose formative power extends over centuries into our time, were conceived and built under tyrannical popes and kings. A painting that belongs to the most precious possession of European culture as a whole emerged in decades filled with the din of battle. Demonic lordly families forced cities under their rule, where the highest and richest development of the visual arts resided alongside the fear of the citizens.

But apart from the past, the present refutes the foolish and brazen excuses of our enemies with which they try to justify their actions against culture and their destruction of it. When today, English or American terror planes appear over German and Italian art centers and reduce centuries-old cultural treasures to rubble and ashes in just an hour, it requires a violation of common sense to attribute such a heinous crime to cultural reasons. This is about much more than terrorizing the civilian population, not to mention an alleged war against our armament production; it is an expression of a historical inferiority complex that seeks to destroy what the enemy himself cannot achieve and has never achieved in the past. European humanity should blush with shame in the face of the fact that, say, a twenty-year-old American, Canadian, or Australian terror pilot can destroy a work by Albrecht Dürer or Titian, thus violating the most venerable names in humanity, without him and millions of his countrymen even knowing them by hearsay. There are no more excuses; this is the cold, cynically calculated struggle of Europe's wayward grandchildren, who turn against the old continent because it is richer in soul and spirit than theirs, and thus has produced immortal testimonies of deep artistic creation and generative power alongside skyscrapers, cars, and refrigerators.

Isn't it telling that English warfare in Germany has already destroyed dozens of theaters, yet England itself does not possess a single significant theater? I won't even mention the Americans in this context because they hardly deserve it. They devastate cities of the European continent with their cultural institutions because they have no equivalent examples to offer in Chicago and San Francisco. What they cannot buy of European art and culture is now to become a victim of their terror bombers.

Thus, we know what is meant and what is planned against us. This war is not only about our daily bread, the living space of our people, and the peace of their homes; this time, we must defend more than ever in the past our most precious assets, those that make life liveable at all and without which human existence would be a dull existence, as our enemies from the steppes of the East already demonstrate to us. While war is a great destroyer, it also has constructive elements that sometimes emerge almost flash-like in its work of destruction. It not only robs people of their senses but also restores their senses. Never before have the people of our continent taken such a spiritual inventory as they do today and held themselves accountable for where Europe stands and what we must do. Perhaps times of satiated peace sometimes make people overly tempted by the pleasures of material life; war sweeps that away with a wave of its hand. It also brings back the insensitive and indifferent to the roots and sources of their strength, teaching even them that man does not live by bread alone. Never has the impulse toward a spiritual and emotional internalization of life been as strong in the German people as it is today. I am not talking about the less pleasant side effects of war, which it brings with it like any other. But one must look into our theaters, concert halls, museums, and art exhibitions, see the German people there daily and nightly by tens and hundreds of thousands in winter and summer, sitting, standing, and marveling at so much beauty, and one knows that we have become richer, more fulfilled, and better through the war.

It would be entirely mistaken to want to justify this development solely from the material side. Today, the German people are not seeking the path to art, as is often claimed, because they have no other investment opportunity for their surplus money. The path to art is the path of their hearts today. The time leads us with its heavy pains and torments back to the comforting certainties of our national life; and where did they find a more visible expression for the people than in art? We counter the destructive

madness of our enemies with a defiant "Nevertheless!" What they do not understand, we learn today, when it is threatened by them, to understand properly. It is irrelevant whether this undeniable tendency upward in the German people today sometimes manifests itself in more primitive or, as the know-it-alls say, kitschy forms. It is there and will rise and refine everywhere and with everyone over time. We all started once, and what we liked as children often no longer pleases us in our mature years. A large part of our people is still in this childish age today, which includes all possibilities of systematic education and higher development within itself. We are a people who, despite their rich and glorious history, are still at the beginning. All chances lie open and unexploited before us, even here; we just need to seize them.

It would be more than disastrous if the artists of the present day did not want to understand this. Never before have they faced a people who come to them with such an open heart as today. One must keep in mind the difference from the past to know what this means. New paintings, sculptures, dramas, novels, symphonies, and operas are no longer just topics of discussion for intellectual criticism in newspapers, as was often the case before. Today, they must pass their test before the scrutinizing eye and ear of the people, and more than that, they must withstand comparison with the great works of art of the past, which the critical public consciousness often only grasps deeply today and which now provide the measure for evaluating contemporary art to the fortunate new lover. Therefore, never before has Goethe's admonition to educate and not just talk been so valid for the artist. The time is conducive in every respect to putting talent to the test. The same opportunities are given to everyone today, in contrast to before. No one can complain that they do not get a chance to speak if they have something to say. So let him reach for pen, brush, chisel, and compass and speak with the instrument of his art and vocation at a time that awaits his revelation.

It almost seems miraculous that in this gigantic struggle of destiny of our people, art can serve its purpose largely untouched by the storms of war. If further proof were needed of the deep understanding that National Socialism brings to artistic endeavors, it is provided in this fact. However, this does not mean that artists could live beyond the times altogether. There may be among them one or the other who believes that because his artistic work is hardly affected by war, he must also draw the conclusion that the

most fundamental laws of war do not apply to him. He must be reminded of his duty and even called

upon to provide proof of his loyalty. The people's community of the Greater German Reich is composed of the people of soldiers and workers, and the responsibility of the artists to this community cannot be evaded. It is not only the opportunities given to him by National Socialism that oblige the artist to fulfill his duty. The times of today demand it more than ever.

The great significance of the artist's work lies in its fruit, which the Reich's government not only values, but also encourages and supports in every way. He who shares his work with the public today does so because the people need him and want to be strengthened and comforted by him. His work is meant to shed light on the hearts of his fellow men and make their day more beautiful. It is meant to preserve and strengthen their national feeling, so that in the hour of the ultimate dangers and difficulties, they can carry on with increased strength. This thought must accompany the artist in all his work. He must not only be an artist; he must also be a leader. He must always remember that he not only creates for himself and his own time, but that he also works for his people and their future.

The Monument of National Solidarity

July 4, 1943

At this moment, there is no problem of the war to which we feel so strongly connected, not only with our minds but also with our hearts, as to that of air warfare. When we undertake a journey to the west or northwest of the Reich, we do so with the solemn seriousness that serious matters deserve. No significant event in the air warfare zones remains unknown to us, and wherever there is even the slightest possibility of helping, we pull out all the stops to provide protection and support to the distressed and tormented victims of enemy air terror.

Especially the western regions are particularly dear to us due to reasons of our shared homeland, particularly because the local population there is currently enduring the worst enemy terror. When we were last in Düsseldorf, Wuppertal, Bochum, and Dortmund to bring some aid to these severely tested cities and offer words of encouragement, we became acutely aware of the strong impact that the air warfare zones can have on the entire German homeland today. The people who remain here under sometimes very primitive conditions and constant threat to their lives, working and enduring, give the nation a shining example of unpretentious duty fulfillment and also show the skeptic that National Socialist education has not passed over the German people unnoticed, giving them the strength to endure such hardships. We consider it not only our moral duty but also our political duty to continually draw the attention of the German public to the severe sufferings that the population in the cities of the west and northwest of the Reich must endure.

When one walks through the destroyed streets of a severely affected residential district, one truly realizes for the first time what the enemy air terror means for the German homeland. Here, we pay a high price for victory, and since it is imposed only on a part of the population, it is the duty of the vast majority of our people to not only show their admiration and understanding for the threatened provinces but also to provide their material

assistance to the extent possible. It is hard to imagine in the areas of the Reich spared from air warfare what it means for the affected population. The bombed-out people must leave their houses and apartments, often reduced to charred walls. They write on a stone with chalk for relatives or acquaintances where they are currently staying. During our last visit, we read with emotion and deep concern such an address of the following content: "Arthur, dear Arthur, I live with both children and am looking for you. Where are you?"

In the face of such tragic human destinies, which, it must be understood, occur not on the front but in civilian life among mostly weak and completely defenseless people, who dares to feel even the slightest joy in a secure and unthreatened life until the last of our waiting duties is fulfilled? National solidarity and the community spirit of our people must pass their test precisely here. If they do not prove themselves in such tests, then the people in the air warfare provinces, who are afflicted with overwhelming suffering, might ultimately come to the conclusion that talk of solidarity is mere rhetoric. Modern war knows no mercy. It is an relentless struggle for the life of nations, and those who lose face hell. It is irrelevant whether we initially imagined it to be simpler and more comfortable at its beginning than it appears today. It is as it is, and we can only change it through decisive victories.

There is much talk about the moral attitude of the population in the air warfare zones, so much so that it almost seems unnecessary to further comment on it. Nevertheless, our hearts urge us to convey deep gratitude to the countless people with whom we came into direct contact on our recent journeys to the west and northwest, gratitude that is meant to be more than mere outward expression. Each time, we felt deeply ashamed anew. Here, one hears no words of complaint or despair, although there would be ample reason for it. When we left the huge assembly hall in Dortmund, where we had spoken to over 20,000 people, upon departure, rows upon rows of hands stretched out to us. They were mostly hands of the working people, tough, torn, and marked by calluses. If the enemy believes that these hands would celebrate as they did in 1917 and 1918, refusing weapons to the front, then he is gravely mistaken. They reach out to the entire nation. Who would not grasp them and strike with them? It would insult these hands to defend them against foreign enemies.

The people in the west and northwest of the Reich have become tougher and more mature through the suffering brought upon them in the bombing nights. It is noticeable in the language spoken here. It is concise, factual, and far from any patriotic phrase. People speak of unhappy and tragic things and events almost like everyday occurrences.

The worries have no opportunity to spread excessively because their bearers are engaged in a constant bitter struggle with a merciless fate that strikes their neighbors today and may knock on their own door tomorrow. Social differences have been completely blurred. Air warfare makes no distinction based on age, status, profession, or gender. Only the community of citizens offers some protection against its tragic consequences. What the party means has been seen and experienced by the people in the nights of suffering and fire. The "little Hitler," often unjustly criticized and mocked before, has once again proven his worth here. Without him, it simply would not work, and everyone knows that. From the party emerges a tough, masculine, and determined leadership, which has to prove itself in extraordinarily difficult trials, showing what it is made of.

From the entire structure of enemy air warfare, it is easy to see that it primarily targets the civilian population and their morale. It seeks primarily to hit the core of the cities against which its attacks are directed, presumably because they hope to find the most victims there. One must have seen the destroyed urban areas in the Rhine and Ruhr regions to grasp the absurdity of the British claim that the English air war is aimed at our armament production. In the air warfare zones, every child knows that this is not the case, and even the malicious can convince themselves by their own observation. This is mainly why in the threatened provinces, all false shame has been shed and the enemy is hated with burning fury and stubborn rage, which is otherwise not characteristic of the German national character. Here, the English can expect no understanding, when they appeal to the world's pity in the face of future German counterattacks. In Wuppertal, British terror bombers first set a large part of the houses on fire and then fired on the people fleeing from the valley with machine guns in low flight. We do not complain about this because we know perfectly well that it would serve no purpose and would only encourage the enemy and provoke repetition; we merely state it and add that we feel the need to spit, whenever the English are still spoken of as gentlemen somewhere.

It is astonishing how quickly the art of improvisation develops and leads to remarkable results when there is a need. In the air warfare zones, people are often forced to live hand to mouth, and it is repeatedly shown that even in seemingly hopeless situations, a way out can eventually be found. The care given to the bombed-out is naturally based on the given and available possibilities, but it is universally acknowledged. The reactions of the Reich areas spared from air warfare to the events in the threatened provinces are followed with great attention. They willingly take on all burdens but rightly demand that the German people show the necessary understanding for the sufferings of the affected population. The individual cities and districts strive to outdo each other in skillfully coping with the inflicted disaster. Here, a noble competition is underway that can only benefit the cause itself. Nothing is more frowned upon than making destruction the subject of spectacle. Every help is gratefully accepted, but people do not want pity. They also fulfill their war duties at their difficult and dangerous posts and know exactly that a good part of our future victory depends on their moral and practical reaction to the enemy air terror.

There is no war in which the victor does not also suffer wounds. Every great military success must be paid dearly for. We Germans have too easily and gladly forgotten this principle of warfare because we won the initial victories of this war too quickly. Having gained control of the decisive positions, we must now defend them. This costs sacrifices and tears. The higher we set our goals in this war, the greater efforts are needed to secure them. We already have them in hand to a significant extent. The extraordinary severity of this war, which we are only now beginning to feel in many cases, is the toll we must pay for the coming victory. It would be hardly understandable if the enemy were to hand over our pledges of commitment without a fight. He will try again and again to wrest them from us, and our task is to foil these attempts by all means. The firmer the perseverance with which we confront him, the sooner he will be convinced that his costly efforts are in vain. In this sense too, the population of the west and northwest is directly involved in military operations during the bombing nights, even if they can only be active in civilian defense. Air warfare is indeed war. This fact remains unchanged even when the enemy retreats after his raids. He directs the thrust of his attack against a factor that is indispensable for warfare, namely the morale of the people. It is attacked and must therefore also defend itself.

Without intending to become cynical, we must point out a fact that is particularly evident in these difficult weeks, especially in the Rhineland, and which in our opinion bears the best witness to the inner readiness of the local population. It is known throughout the Reich and the world, indeed famous, for its humor and wit. Both qualities have not been lost to them even in the harsh trials of the bombing war. One encounters them at every turn. Only those who know the Rhineland-Westphalian people through long association can truly understand this. It has nothing to do with frivolity or even indifference; it is a sign of the great spiritual resilience that the bombs have not been able to destroy.

The Intellectual Worker in the Fate Struggle of the Reich

Speech at Heidelberg University

July 9, 1943

It is not by chance but by intention that I have chosen the podium of this ancient and venerable university to speak to spiritual Germany. I too studied, suffered, and debated in Heidelberg, and therefore hope that my words from this place will carry a special force and impact. My aim with them is to dispel a series of errors and false notions, not to mention prejudices, which seem to me to encumber the unrestricted collaboration of the intellectually creative individual in the great tasks of the time. This must not be, but neither does it need to be. We all stand in strict service to a historical mission, and the judgment of future generations about us and our era will depend on whether we proved equal to this mission, and more importantly, whether we accomplished it with a style and success that will earn us the respect and admiration of posterity. This must always be the highest ambition of a masculine and combative generation. It can harbor no more fervent desire than to live in a time and contribute to an era in which history is being made. For only in such a time does it have the chance to reach beyond the normal and steady course of generational succession and inscribe its name in the book of enduring events. Such a time has been thrust upon us all.

One can affirm and deny it, admire and condemn it, but one cannot deny it. It is here, and just as people shape it, so it shapes people. From these reciprocal relationships between man and time, and time and man, arises that as painful as it is soothing ignition that we feel as the true dynamic force of our era. Every revolution reaches deeply into the existence of individuals and nations. It is like a dividing water, and one cannot stand aside and remain neutral towards it. It demands tough decisions not only of a factual nature but also of a personal nature. Revolutions tend to go all the way. They turn centuries upside down. The old altars are toppled and new ones erected. Revolutions are indeed initiated and carried out by people, but they obey a

law that is, so to speak, in the air. They may set it up, but after a certain course, the revolution tends to become autonomous and obey only its own laws. Who could seriously believe that such a deeply stirring process would stop short of cathedrals?

What we began in 1933 must be defended in this war. It is to secure the Reich externally and globally. It is the concluding act of the First World War, indeed, I even believe one could assume that history, two hundred years hence, will perceive and present the period from 1914 to today and to the end of this Second World War as a unity, in a sense as a Second Thirty Years' War, which offered the German people and its leadership a unique historical chance to revise and make good what they did so poorly and neglected in the First Thirty Years' War. From these perspectives, our time acquires an entirely new face. It has not yet been in its severe sufferings, but also not yet in its great possibilities. In a word: we have the honor to live in an unprecedented time.

It is clear that such a time revalues all values. Even the concepts of leadership and education undergo a profound transformation. Until then, it seemed to be the prerogative of the stratum of possession and intellect to place the nation's forces of leadership in all areas. We do not doubt that this has led to some successes, but we must also note that it has led to a multitude of misdirections and a completely wrong selection. Leadership itself has little to do with education. Leadership is innate, whereas education is acquired. To lead requires a kind of talent, not to mention genius, which is equally found in all classes and strata of the people. One cannot claim that such talent or genius is awakened or promoted solely through education; on the contrary, education sometimes seems to be more of an obstacle than an impetus to leadership in not very firm and steadfast characters. The sum of leadership ability is indeed the most important capital in the political life of a people. Revolutions arise only because the born leadership talents of a people to a significant extent fail to assert themselves and reach the appropriate position. A genuine revolution therefore signifies only the restoration of the natural interaction between the leadership talent present in the people and its appropriate deployment in the service of national development. This fact alone brings a certain crisis of intellectual life with every revolution, particularly of the educational ideal valid within it. Both have proven inadequate to provide the nation with the leadership stratum necessary for its growth, or at least not to place it where it belongs through a well-functioning

principle of selection. Otherwise, the revolution would not have come. If a revolution succeeds, it is always an irrefutable proof that the better quality of leadership stands in opposition while the poorer possesses power. It is hardly avoidable that the official system, represented not only by the government but also by education, is always embarrassed by a successful revolution. Its principles of selection have proven inadequate and must be replaced by new, better ones. However, this is easier said than done. Due to its success, the winning party will tend to throw out the baby with the bathwater and condemn not only the obvious flaws of the defeated opponent but also its advantages, while the losing one will first meet the new order with skepticism and reservation. Only through a generous and fair treatment can this conflict be limited to a tolerable degree. We all know the serious, often humiliating confrontations between revolution and education from the beginnings of any overthrow, which are expressions of this only too natural crisis. But I believe that in our time these were ignited even more by a confusion of concepts that seemed only to make the gap appear broader and deeper than it really was. I refer here primarily to the catchphrase of intellectualism, which, lightly thrown out and made the subject of cheap ridicule, made the most valuable forces of our intellectual life appear attacked, which they did not deserve. They put on a shoe that clearly did not fit them. Every person has the understandable desire to be seen as intelligent. But for that reason, he does not need to be an intellectual. According to today's usage, intellectualism denotes a degeneration of healthy common sense, an over- or under-cultivation of engagement with intellectual matters, or rather, an excessive appearance of the forces of pure intellect compared to the forces of character, which, as experience proves, form the most elementary prerequisite of the art of leadership. It is clear that this danger is most apparent in intellectual professions; and here again, it is not the peaks that fall victim to it, but a certain layer of semi-education that remains precisely at the border between natural, unspoiled instinct and faith through knowledge and understanding. Here lies the actual conflict.

Unreserved faith is a great grace. We count ourselves among the intellectual workers. As such, we do not belong to the naive happy souls who draw their inexhaustible strength solely from faith. Yet we do not seek to diminish knowledge and understanding as a counterproof to faith; rather, we make them its solid foundation. Half-knowledge often leads to cowardice; only complete knowledge and the deepest insights give faith the victorious strength that remains unshaken even in storms and thunderstorms. It was not

education that sterilized our German leadership life in the imperial and post-November Reich, but rather half-education. The leadership of that time did not reach high enough in selecting its successors, nor did it reach deep enough down. It was the unmistakable expression of intellectual inhibition in planning and acting. It lacked the blood supply from the broad layers of the population, and therefore it had to fail sooner or later.

One might shake one's head at such theoretical reasoning, but the facts confirm it nonetheless. We Germans of that time politicized, but we were not political. We prided ourselves, good heavens, on being a nation of poets and thinkers, but we were only a nation of fantasists. We wanted to reform the world without a clear conception of our own national-political goals and tasks, and in this condition, we were more than convenient to our enemies. They could not have imagined or desired a more practical and successful paralysis of the national life force of around a hundred million Germans in the heart of Europe than the one we ourselves undertook. Yet, a revision awaited us in the broadest sense. The development of the first three decades of our century seemed entirely suited to offer us a historical chance such as we had never possessed in the past and probably would never possess again in the distant future. What most Germans had long since written off definitively—that we would begin again not just before 1914 but even before 1618—now beckoned to us suddenly as a distant goal. But achieving it required more than intellect alone; it required courage, character, civic courage, and the deepest understanding of historical realities and possibilities. The times could only be mastered by men of whom the great Prussian king once said that they must have hearts of iron and guts of iron, casting off all sensitivity.

At this stage of affairs, National Socialism intervened. One must sharply distinguish between its tasks dictated by the times and its historical mission. Subtract everything else from it; only the fact would need to remain that it tore down the barrier that separated the people itself from the exercise of its own leadership and thereby accomplished a masterpiece of the regeneration of our political life. By replacing intellect with the power of faith, eternal hesitation with action, and distrust in the forces given to us by God with strong, sovereign self-confidence, it thus helped the actual evil, the creeping illness of the time. We were no longer just a nation of around a hundred million; we now behaved as such. What had previously been only a cheap catchphrase for gallery use now became reality: the path was clear for

the capable. We Germans were not made equal in rights and duties overnight, but we were made equal in opportunities.

There is deep symbolism in the fact that the name of the Flemish village, where in November 1914 German students stormed into the enemy's bullet rain with the 'Deutschlandlied' on their lips, proving that there was something higher than education, namely courage—that this name became the headline of a work that sets no other goal than to open the way to educational institutions for the people. I know from personal experience how difficult it was for the children of our people to assert themselves at high schools in the past. Only the very strong and determined could prevail here. One might argue that this was a natural selection that was only beneficial to the cause. That is not true. Besides its high leadership in science, economy, art, and politics, Germany needs a middle leadership stratum, which represents the cement of national leadership life in general. Its possibility to rise to the top must be secured.

Because lone wolves alone do not guarantee the calm and steady development of a people's intellectual life. They are the comets that come and go unbidden. But behind them must stand a solid block of intelligence, willpower, and initiative, composed of countless civil servants, teachers, doctors, technicians, engineers, and constructors; at all times, they form that enduring foundation on which genius stands and acts.

What do we lack today to fill the vast spaces we have taken possession of with fruitful life? We have at our disposal the great signposts of the times, which set up their milestones along the road of the century. We possess a diligent and brave people ready to follow its leadership on all paths; but the tasks cry out for talents and abilities equipped with solid knowledge, practical understanding, and a burning national-political faith, determined and capable of going to work and lending the necessary durability to the goals achieved in the war.

Of course, the raw material for this is available. Look around our people, and everywhere one encounters leadership talent in all strata. A company needs only to enter battle and lose its captain, and a sergeant or corporal, perhaps least expected, steps forward with sovereign calm to take command in place of the fallen company commander. During the bombing raids on our cities in western and northwestern Germany, every time a street

was cut off, some previously unknown individual was found who seized leadership of the desperate group and demonstrated mastery with the highest skill within it. Our people possess more natural leadership ability than we realize. We only need to uncover it, find it, and put it to effective use.

The intellectual life of the country cannot ignore this task either. It is the task of the times. In 1918, we failed not as a people, but as leadership. If the Reich had chosen strength instead of false cleverness that sought to evade danger, and had made a firm, masculine decision, the people surely would not have denied such a call from above. But if no example is set at the top, then no example can effectively inspire below. The new German leadership stratum we aspire to must therefore be cut from a different cloth. Their insight must marry with the bravery of the heart; they must be both wise and courageous, not despising knowledge but also not overestimating it; they must preserve their common sense in all situations; their political instinct must react naturally and unimpeded. In short, they must not abandon what made our leadership great and admirable in the past, and learn what was formerly lacking and at whose absence we so terribly failed.

The roots of intellectual life also lie within the people. The people are the soil from which we draw all our strength. Therefore, there is no valuable work that does not find its origin and its goal within the people. Even the so fiercely contested isolation of science still finds its connection here. Certainly, research must have a free space in which it can unfold. The purposive does not always lead most swiftly and securely to the fulfillment of its purpose, and sometimes the free-roaming mind achieves deeper insights than the consciously striving one. By nature, our scientists and researchers tend towards a certain reserve towards public life. But this only means conscious rejection in the rarest cases. Mostly, it is a flight from the constraints of the day and matter into the unboundedness of free and unrelated research. Who could blame a serious, striving spirit for that! The nation is rich and great enough to afford such luxury, especially since it often leads to the greatest achievements of human life overall. Even in war, we have not taken measures to force the freedom of research into flat utility for immediate use. All this is so self-evident that I need not waste words on it. Not only does the artistic and cultural life of the nation continue because, seen from the people's perspective, it can also be converted into practical war effort; likewise, scientific life enjoys the privilege, alongside war, of establishing a realm of free research and thereby ensuring a substance of our

intellectual existence that we cannot do without, without losing part of our national character.

However, the isolation of science does not grant it a license for a conscious turning away from the times. It too serves a higher duty. It cannot be detached from the tasks and duties of the present, which are given to everyone and allow no exceptions. Germany has always been the classic land of free research. We owe it great inventions that have brought glory upon glory and honor upon honor to our national name. Name the most significant figures among researchers and inventors worldwide, and at every turn, you will encounter sons of our people. We would commit a sin against a proud inheritance of our intellectual life if we were to allow the chain of these unique successes to be broken. It is not a mere phrase when, from this place that connects me through a thousand relationships with a time of youthful learning and maturation, I proclaim loudly the achievements of our German intellect and education. They have been, at all times, and despite their sometimes apparent deficiencies and mistakes, still better than those of our enemies. We have inherited a legacy that was entrusted to us not for caprice, but in good faith and with faithful hands.

Who would claim the right to destroy or deny something if they do not immediately have something acknowledged as better to replace it? The intellectual life of a nation always needs room to unfold. Good intentions alone do not make a master, and we should not believe that with our justified criticism of a sterile and lifeless intellectualism of mediocrity and dilettantism, we aimed to open the way. After all, we too once passed through the halls of our universities and were more educated than misinformed there. For this, we still owe them recognition and gratitude today. What needed reform has been reformed in them. But this was more about external appearances than substance, as our revolution everywhere took great care to preserve the foundations of our national life, even more, to nurture and loosen them so they could bear new fruit. Why should it be any different here than elsewhere? In any case, we see no reason today to deny what once filled our entire lives during our youth for many years.

Sometimes criticism is leveled against the teaching and research activities at our universities and scientific institutes, claiming they are too broad and involve too much expenditure of money, materials, and personnel, to still be worthwhile. I do not want to entertain this objection in any way. It

is no different here than anywhere else, and I do not believe that there are more mediocre professors for every Heinrich von Treitschke or Robert Koch than there are bad tenors for every Caruso, subordinate officials for every Freiherr vom Stein, average officers for every Moltke, and bureaucratic councilors for every Bismarck. Moreover, the broad foundation of our scientific life is one of the causes of its success. It should be expanded rather than restricted. The preparatory work of countless small talents and diligent abilities is often the prerequisite for great intellectual achievements. Certainly, there are also comet-like phenomena in scientific and research life that advance the development of modern humanity by a hundred steps through unique, ingenious insights. But in general, success here too is often the result of years of rigorous work, not only by the rare lucky finder themselves but also by countless unnamed yet highly deserving scientific collaborators and assistants who prepared the way for the one standing in the radiant light of public fame and cleared the path through their selfless toil on many days and countless nights, allowing them to find the philosopher's stone.

One can only feel the highest respect for this scientific work, both large and small. The nation owes a large part of its current civilized life, the foundations of its economic existence, and the basis of its social standards to it. Certainly, there is some idle effort involved, which perhaps could be avoided here and there. But what does that mean in the face of the great achievements of German science and technology, research and invention, which have brought fame to the German name throughout the world! Where would medical science, physics, chemistry, mathematics, history, and philosophy, the queen of all thought, be without the German pioneers who laid the foundations upon which mostly others built? This intellectual pioneering work, even if it sometimes appears somewhat peripheral, deserves anything but the contempt that shortsighted fools may occasionally show towards it. It is neither superfluous nor dispensable. It makes our German universities and scientific institutes world-renowned centers of education and intellectual development, to which in peacetime countless eager young minds from all over the world flock to see what the human mind is capable of and to what heights it can be led through the meticulousness of diligence, through the logic of thought, through the fanaticism devoted solely to the cause, which, while serving only its pure research goals, still stands in the highest service to the glory and honor of the nation.

Here applies Richard Wagner's statement that to be German means to do something for its own sake, in a very sober and unpathetic sense. Here researchers and thinkers are at work like soldiers. They are heroes of their beloved and revered science, for which they often sacrifice their personal happiness and health. For mostly meager pay, they waste their entire lives in eternal struggle with the mysteries of nature and help through their work to lift the veil that God has placed over the secrets of the universe here and there. Today, I have taken the floor at this point to pay tribute to this eternal spirit of German thought and research. Surrounded by the most illustrious representatives of our scientific and research life, I would like to express the deep bond that young Germany, born of a revolution, shares with the old and venerable institutions of our intellectual education and upbringing.

I am the last to refrain from criticism where criticism appears necessary. Criticism born out of a higher sense of responsibility is justified, but even here, its goal should only be to replace the less good and outdated with the good and proven new, and the good with the best. When we speak with disdain of the degenerates of hollow intellectualism, we mean a kind of half-education that rarely found a place in German universities. However, history shows enough examples from our universities that men of intellect, previously only working in the quiet of the study or laboratory, raised their voices in times of great need for the fatherland and led their students ahead of the entire nation, providing a shining example of resolute political duty. Where would there be more opportunity for this than in this war, which puts the German people to their final test! Merged through a revolution into a community, it must now defend the theses, teachings, and achievements of its new life in a gigantic struggle. Fate falls upon us with unmatched severity, and who does not know that if we fail in the face of it and lose courage under its blows, then all would indeed be lost!

This is something that concerns everyone. In a great process of transformation, the revolution has eliminated the differences between the classes and educational levels of our people. The longer the war lasts, the more it makes us all equal. One day, we will face it eye to eye, and then we must prove that we are determined to go to the end to achieve the highest. Only as if emerging from a confused dream do we remember the fact that at this university, the infamous words of dishonor were spoken, and we realize how deeply Germany once sank. But doesn't it also testify again to the unbroken vitality and effervescence of our people that it rose so quickly

again from such a shameful fall and once again entered the fight for its highest life goods? This war is a people's and racial war. It demands a complete decision. One must not believe that it can be avoided through a lazy compromise. It confronts us with all imaginable fluctuations and vicissitudes of its fortune, and the Goddess of Victory will only lean down to us when we have passed all the tests she has assigned to us. The life of peoples, like the life of individuals, is an eternal process of selection, and whoever is eliminated here crumbles to dust and ashes. The greatest sufferings of a people are also its greatest opportunities. It may well be that this war, as the Leader said in his proclamation of January 30, will see at its end only survivors and annihilated. To the former, the future and eternal glory beckon; to the latter, only the word: Woe to the defeated!

If I am to dedicate a few words to the young academic talent gathered around me, I do so in a feeling of nostalgic remembrance of a time when I too sat among their ranks in this city, my heart full of idealism and my mind clouded with lofty plans that, thankfully, were not condemned to resignation by life's experiences. Even in my time, the new era was heralded by vivid flashes of lightning. We did not stream into the lecture halls as unburdened and with the cheap notions of a blissful youth as perhaps the semesters that preceded us, abruptly awakened from their dreams at Langemarck and for the first time encountered the new century, which we have not yet mastered to this day. A revolution has also taken place at the universities. It has placed the student youth in a new relationship not only with the people but also with science. In doing so, it had to discard much that was burdensome and superfluous, some of which we still fondly remember today, like a gentle reflection of our carefree youth. It is forever gone with all that belonged to it. I am not one of those who today pelt the roaring and resounding romanticism of old student life with stones and deny their own youth with the abandonment of banner and ribbon. I have never participated in the externalities of past student life and can therefore speak about it quite dispassionately. However beautiful and appealing it may have been, however splendid it appears in memory, it is gone. Time has swept over it, and like so many other things dear to us, we leave this behind us. Our path leads to new shores.

But do not tell me that thereby the romance of academic life has finally disappeared. Every age has its romance, that is, its poetic conception of life, including ours. It is harder and crueler than the past, but it is romantic

like it. The steel romance of our time manifests itself in exhilarating achievements, in relentless service to a great cause, in a sense of duty elevated to an immutable principle. We are all more or less romantics of a new German prestige before ourselves and the world. The realm of roaring engines, sky-reaching technical inventions, grand industrial creations, vast, almost unexplored spaces that we must populate for our national character, that is the realm of our romance. Here, science and research have their field. Here, they are given a task that extends far beyond the normal irrelevance of their old mission. Here, they also earn the respect and admiration before the entire people that they deserve and on which they depend if they are to prevail in public thought. It may be that after a period of exaggerated intellectualism, such as the one behind us, the pendulum of development sometimes swings exactly to the opposite extreme and, in a sense, only claims validity for action. But isn't the field of science also abundantly sown with deeds? Where would we have ended up in this war, and where would we still go if the great researchers and inventors of this time did not conduct the fight for the life of their people with the same fanaticism and wild determination in their institutes and laboratories as the soldier on the battlefield, the worker at the lathe and assembly line, the farmer behind plow and harrow, and the artist in the preservation and augmentation of our eternal cultural heritage! How often in the past years and especially in the last weeks and months in the decisive phases of our weapons development has the cry resounded: Scientists and inventors to the front! And they have never failed to respond to this call, on the contrary, from the unknown assistant to the world-famous authority, they have felt the research assignment given to them as a state and national mission and fulfilled it like a mission in the service of the nation.

This war in the institutes and laboratories does not play out on a side stage. It is often and often of decisive importance for victory. The less that can be said about it today, the more it is precisely shown thereby that here the struggle for the existence or non-existence of our people finds its most concise intellectual expression on the narrowest space. After the war, the people will have to thank their technicians, designers, inventors, and researchers on their knees when they learn what share in victory their cause was. Do I still need to waste words to show the academic youth, faced with these challenges, their duty? Here lies the romance of their new life, here the teaching, learning, and research mission of German universities has found a contemporary expression, one that is irrelevant in its urgency but strictly

bound in its purpose. Here also develops the new educational ideal of our time: harsh, Spartan, far from any false and sentimental romance and only turned towards the great goal of making amends for our historical sins and establishing a great empire of the German nation, free from all shackles and dedicated only to the life and future of our own people. I felt the need, in the midst of our people's total war for its total freedom and independence, to proclaim this before all the public. The precondition of any fruitful intellectual debate is the clarification of concepts. We often stumble over false denominations and then run the risk of getting into a purposeless and aimless debate. Here a new terminology is to be set. In strict separation of the scientific and research life from the degenerative manifestations of a sterile intellectualism, German universities and research institutions should thus be granted their honorable place in the life of the nation. They have every reason to be proud of their achievements. When the Reich called them, they were present and fulfilled their duty as only they can. Much has already been done, much remains to be done. But that is not decisive. Once firm ground is underfoot, everything else cannot be so heavy. Strengthened and inwardly fortified, spiritual Germany will return to its workplaces to continue the eternal struggle of the struggling human spirit with the mysteries of nature and to win for our time as well.

This war cannot be compared to any of its predecessors. It is about the life of the nation in the deepest sense, even more so, about the roots of our national life. It encompasses all possibilities for the rise and fall of our empire within it. Therefore, no one should be surprised or complain that it presents us with unprecedented tasks and dangers, that it is accompanied by the eternal fluctuations of war fortune and spares us no worry or anxiety. Only brave hearts will master its burdens. A stoic courage is required here, which tends to be inherent in the naturally brave or the philosopher. If our high educational institutions do not find the strength to teach, alongside dead knowledge, the bravery of the heart that we need today more than anything else, then they would not be worthy of harboring German youth in their lecture halls and institutes. In the national fateful hours of our history, a stream of faith, strength, and knowledge has always flowed from here to the entire nation. So it must be today as well. Those who know more than others bear only more duties. In times of hardship, the people look to their educated because they seek support and guidance from them. Here, spiritual Germany receives alongside its professional tasks an assignment of character. I have no doubt that it will fulfill it. The circle closes around us. We have become a

people and are on the verge of embarking on the path to nationhood. All great possibilities lie open before us; we need only seize them to make them ours.

It is the time when in Germany, history is not only taught but also made. It will be replaced someday by a time when the mists clear and the sky becomes clear again. Then we can no longer catch up. What is done then remains done; but what has been omitted remains undone. Rarely does the goddess of history descend to humanity and nations, brushing the earth with the hem of her cloak. Rarely do the borders of realms falter, forming new communities and new forms of coexistence among peoples. Yet how often have we Germans missed such rare opportunities, how often have we stood at the end of such developments empty-handed, while other great powers understood how to make wiser use of the time and reaped the benefits.

This time, it shall not be so. A great historical opportunity will find a willing people and a prepared leadership. They will triumph over the pains and sufferings of the time and move forward where there can be no turning back. Spiritual Germany this time does not want to lose itself in dreams and fantasies, but to serve wisely and purposefully the real tasks of the great era, to submit to them with the full force of feeling and the tirelessly striving spirit of research and teaching. Then perhaps Friedrich Nietzsche's words from "Thus Spoke Zarathustra," once addressed to a generation that could not comprehend them, will find fulfillment in our generation:

"The time has passed when chance could still encounter me;

And what could still fall to me now that is not already my own!
And one more thing I know: I now stand before my last peak and before what has been saved up for me the longest. Ah, my hardest path I must ascend! Ah, I began my loneliest journey!

But whoever is of my kind, does not escape such an hour:

The hour that speaks to him: Now you go your path of greatness! Summit and abyss — that is now decided in one!

You go your path of greatness: now what used to be your last refuge has become, what used to be your last danger!
Now your best courage must be that there is no path behind you!

No one shall sneak after you here! Your own foot erases the path behind you, and above it is written: Impossibility.

And if now all ladders fail you, then you must understand how to climb upwards on your own head: how else would you ascend upwards?

On your own head and beyond your own heart! Now the mildest in you must become the hardest.

Whoever has always spared themselves much, finally falls ill from their much sparing. Praised be what makes hard!"

Does the government actually know this?

July 11, 1943

Of course, the government knows. That is our stereotypical response to a frequently raised stereotypical question, namely whether the government is informed about this or that, of which the questioner assumes they have no clue and therefore must be enlightened by him. The government knows more than is generally believed. The antiquated notion that it is surrounded by a Great Wall of China composed of nothing but malicious people, who in turn have only one interest: to keep the government away from all matters and processes that it not only needs to know but also dutifully handle, belongs in the realm of fable and fantasy. It may have been true in a time when autocrats, capricious princes, and kings stood at the helm of states, surrounded by courtiers who had to hide any troubles and unpleasant news from them. We cannot say that such a mode of governance is prevalent among us today; on the contrary, we rather have the impression that the government is burdened with too much rather than too little. In any case, there can be no talk of the government sparing itself or being spared by its surroundings.

It knows what it must know, and even more; and that is a good thing. When it makes a decision, everyone can be convinced that it does so to the best of its knowledge and conscience, and with full awareness of the circumstances. Never has so little been governed from the desk as it is today with us. Where does the government derive its knowledge? From a thousand different sources. It is informed by the competent bodies; moreover, it also gathers its knowledge primarily from its deep connection with the people. While it is true that none of us can personally read the countless letters that constantly arrive from unknown writers in good and bad times, as two eyes would by far not suffice for that, and these eyes also have to read, see, and inspect many other things, these communications undergo careful scrutiny by very conscientious, often battle-tested staff, who present all that is truly essential, while the rest is dealt with using the party and state apparatus available to them. But this naturally refers only to individual cases, without typical significance. The fundamental matters always go fundamentally

upwards. When something starts becoming crucial for the state, we do not throw it into the bureaucratic sausage machine; instead, we try to seize the bull by the horns, and usually succeed.

The government's orientation is continuous. From early morning until late at night, and sometimes well into the night, streams of news, both good and bad, flow to us. One should not believe that before they are presented, they pass through a sieve that holds back everything that is unpleasant and could cause trouble. The news is brought to the attention of the leadership in an unedited state, and we are not so sensitive to trouble that we need watchdogs to keep it away from us. By seven o'clock in the morning, the latest telegrams from around the world arrive, giving us a picture of the general political and military situation as the enemy sees it. At eight o'clock, a report follows on events in the air war zones, which goes into all the details, while the essentials have mostly already been reported overnight by the relevant district authorities. In the office, we face a considerable mountain of files and memoranda on general war-important issues, which need to be read attentively and decided upon swiftly. These decisions are mostly made within an hour, if the matter under consideration does not require longer consultations with the relevant specialists. A presentation follows on all significant events from the Reich territory. It usually goes into detail and is supplemented by reports from the people that arrive by letter or verbally. It would be a coincidence if something essential were overlooked or forgotten in this process. However, it is certainly not permanent. What falls under the table today will surely resurface tomorrow or the day after.

This is followed by a briefing on the situation in our own district of Berlin. This is particularly thorough and exhaustive. For example, it does not hide the fact that potatoes are currently scarce, that we need to bridge a transitional period until the new harvest, and how this is to be done. What interest would the presenting old and proven party comrades have in glossing over something unpleasant? They are glad to rid themselves of their worries and receive clear decisions. If a popular bus route in Berlin is shut down, it is not done by a subordinate bureaucrat who enjoys annoying the public; such a measure is carefully considered and deliberated upon, and in the end, reason usually prevails over popularity. It is important that measures from above constantly undergo scrutiny from below. This is done through the party, which keeps its finger on the pulse of the people. Every district leader has access at all times, and district leaders are not the type to present Potemkin

villages to the leadership's eyes. We are fortunate to manage not only Reich affairs but also the office of a district leader. Here we have the best opportunity to constantly monitor decisions on a large scale as they affect those below. We do not sit at the green table; we stand in the midst of the people. No one can deceive us.

At eleven o'clock, the military situation briefing follows. It provides everything one needs to form a clear and exhaustive picture of the state of military affairs. This is followed by a one-hour conference with the closest collaborators from the party, state, press, radio, film, and other political and intellectual means of leadership. Here, old and proven staff members take the floor. Most have stood at the front for a long time and earned high distinctions there. Now they live among the people, and each brings valuable knowledge. It is not customary in this circle to mince words. Orders are only issued after everything has been thoroughly discussed and deliberated. The participants in this conference have already carefully studied the relevant daily material and are well informed. There is no empty straw threshing here. If anyone in this circle were to present general phrases or illusions, they would only fall into general ridicule.

Questions that cannot be discussed in this large forum are reserved for subsequent individual consultations. What one does not know oneself is presented here briefly and objectively, and then the decision is made. Outside, visitors are already waiting. They come from all strata of society and certainly did not travel to Berlin with the intention of pulling the wool over someone's eyes. Staff members are excused from or return from the front. Soldiers of all ranks come from the East and all other combat zones and report. It is clear that they have been looking forward to and preparing to say everything that worries them for days, sometimes even weeks. What reason would they have to conceal their knowledge? Reporters have come from all corners of the Reich and all occupied territories, serious, reliable people seeking decisions and not wanting to engage in harmless chatter. Telephone calls come in from all corners and ends of the Reich. This is a continuous chain of orientation. When someone asks whether the government knows this or that, we can rightly reply: It knows more than the layman suspects.

During lunch, there are usually a few vacationers who feel the need to speak freely. The war is debated. Suggestions are given and received. Here, speaking openly is highly valued. One can learn a lot of details that would

hardly come to light through normal channels. Such discussions usually continue throughout the afternoon, until a few hours later the new foreign telegrams arrive. These are handled by phone with the staff, as there is not enough time for oral discussions. Where there is half an hour left, it is used for publishing work or preparing speeches. On such days, the outside world is seen only through an occasional glance out the window, and the weather is of interest only to the extent that it affects the harvest positively or negatively.

When evening comes, the third chapter of the day's work begins. It usually extends well into the night. One must be very pleased if the last phone calls come around midnight; they usually come later. To calm frayed nerves, one may browse through a new book that occupies the public, or get informed about the enemy's opinion.

Alongside this, visits within the country continue. We travel to the districts that need it most, where we have something to say to the people and where we must personally ascertain events and facts, currently primarily in the air war zones. Here, everything is disclosed and shown without reservation; nothing is withheld, and we would like to meet the district or county leaders who, on such occasions, seek to put rose-colored glasses on the visitor. They take them to where the concerns are greatest, bring them together with all professions and population segments, present the matters that must be clarified from Berlin, not those that they have already decided on their own power. It is downright childish to assume that we beat around the bush here, and that visitors and hosts would be just as clueless after the visit as before.

National Socialism represents the most modern system of people's leadership, and the party is there to foster and continually expand this system. Since it is known to be responsible for everything, it also has an interest in bringing everything that is unclear and causes people concern to a just and tolerable solution. This war is our great historical test. We all know that our fate hinges on its outcome. What could lead us to take it lightly? Do not believe we are incapable of enduring trouble and worry, because we are too weak. Our skin has developed calluses everywhere from decades of strain. If we were sensitive, none of us would have survived 1923, let alone 1943. We are in continuous training for concern, so that we hardly feel anything extraordinary anymore. Even if it rains bricks, nothing can knock us over.

We had to discuss this openly with the people. Many people have very mistaken ideas about what leadership in war actually means and entails. It is an uninterrupted sequence of work, worry, and responsibility that stretches through the days and mostly through the nights. It makes no distinction between weekdays and Sundays or between Pentecost and Easter. It would be idle to believe that someone will come and tell the government what it must know. It would be equally wrong to say that the government alone decides what the country must know. The people are highly interested in this war, and they are as entitled to their share of knowledge as the government is. This sharing does not only happen through the publication of official proclamations and regulations. The public has been taught for years to read from the reports and speeches of the Fuehrer, the party, and state leadership. They always know what moves us, and they are our best collaborators.

In the Shadow of the War of Weapons

July 18, 1943

Besides the war of weapons, which has just entered a new stage, there is also a fierce war of nerves taking place. It deserves more attention than it generally receives. Naturally, only weapons can bring about the final decision, but they require several important conditions, among which the combat readiness of morale is of paramount importance. It has been pointed out before that we lost the First World War in this field, evidence that the absence of this precondition can be decisive in war. Consequently, today we must be particularly cautious and suspicious in this regard, especially because it seems obvious that the enemy will again start his hopes, but also his temptations, after his undeserved and probably completely unexpected success in November 1918. Vigilance is most necessary in this area more than anywhere else. Therefore, one can understand that German military leadership observes with extreme precision the intentions of the enemy in this regard and does not ignore any measure in London, Washington, and Moscow that even slightly indicates them. A burnt child dreads the fire.

We have also emphasized several times that the collapse of the Reich in November 1918 is not due to the failure of the German people, but primarily to the failure of its leadership. At the decisive moment, they lost their nerve and infected the broad masses with their mistrust in their own strength. British memoir literature from the First World War contains numerous examples reflecting the astonishment of the English military leadership at the completely unexpected German catastrophe. This is also evidence that there was no reason for it. Our armament situation at that time was better than at any other time during the war. Although we experienced a low point in our food supply, with firm leadership that had to vividly explain to the people the reasons and prospects of the crisis, we could have easily overcome it. In a word, we lost our breath at a moment when more than ever before all strength had to be concentrated on victory.

A fundamental law of combat, whether between individuals or nations, in sporting, political, or military life, is to hold one's breath until the last minute. It is self-evident that this last minute is the most difficult. Just as the winners of a major football match leave the field in a different state than when they entered, so too will a nation look significantly different whether it ends a war or begins one. War always inflicts wounds, both on the victor and the loser. We Germans did not realize this in the first half of the war because we remained almost entirely unharmed. We dealt blows without receiving any in return. Military confrontation could not be openly discussed during this phase of the war. To repeat the example, we fought exclusively in the opponent's penalty area and in the first half gained an advantage that occasionally dulled interest in the immediate continuation of the fight. Since then, only the nature of the war has changed, becoming more open, without, of course, the enemy fundamentally making up for our first-half advantage in significant matters. We still fight with far greater chances, only that the enemy desperately tries to catch up, and at the emergence of a critical situation, he already claims a psychological advantage for himself. We must therefore get used to the fact that the confrontation, especially in the current stage, has taken on a more fluid character, but must not fall into the mistake of being infected by the psychosis spread by the defeated for transparent reasons. This is the goal of enemy propaganda, especially in connection with the fighting around Sicily. It inflates the real or perceived successes of the opponent, which are of only secondary importance compared to our war-decisive ones, in a manner that is intended to impress the easily influenced observer with the impression that the enemy is on the path to victory. However, he can only boast of the past winter crisis, North Africa, and the air war as notable and already established results of his conduct of the war. None of these can be compared in any way to the military defeat of France, let alone the expansion of our armament and food base in the East. As for the air war, the blows we inflicted on the enemy in the autumn and winter of 1940 are still to be valued much higher in the current stage of development than those he is inflicting on us today. Just as he coped with it, so must we. This costs sacrifices and losses but is of war-decisive importance. This phase of the war will also be overcome; here the saying applies that the one who speaks last is right.

We do not want to trivialize the suffering that our population has to endure in the air war zones. We feel superior to the suspicion of wanting to approach a problem of war with cynicism that is of such decisive importance.

Just as the conduct of a division or army corps, which has to hold a particularly dangerous and threatened front section, gives its strongest assistance, so does a population segment that stands as an outpost of the whole nation in the midst of a hail of bombs. They must be able to rely on the fighting front in the field and at home. Both must always keep in mind that they defend the Reich in their respective sectors. The hour of their trial is the hour of their proof.

In the present stage of the war against the Axis powers, Anglo-American warfare is conducting a nerve campaign aimed at making their leaderships and peoples believe in the victoriousness of their cause. Although this plan is cleverly and maliciously designed for the credulous, it can arouse no impression in the knowledgeable. When one approaches one or the other Axis partner in London or Washington at fairly regular intervals with the request for unconditional surrender, it is the same as if the captain of a losing team were to approach the captain of the winning team with the demand to stop the game with a lead of about 9:2 because it allegedly offered no more chances for the winner. One would rightly laugh at and spit on a team that agreed to this. It has already won; it just needs to defend its victory. In the reverse case, we would never come to such a thought regarding the enemy because we lack the necessary political audacity, which is especially characteristic of the English. We see the war more realistically and therefore do not want to be thrown from one illusion into another but want to be informed objectively about its events and vicissitudes.

In this respect, English warfare does not need to consider its own people at all. It conducts its news policy exclusively against us, regardless of what public opinion at home and in the world thinks about it. For example, the invasion of Sicily has been announced in London for months at all possible points in Europe as direct, quite direct, or imminent. Dates were set, which were always changed, and if they were not met, the English propaganda claimed that the German propaganda had invented them. Obviously, all of this, seen from the English side, was a piece of psychological warfare intended to make us nervous and uncertain, and still intends to do so.

Of course, this has neither succeeded nor can it succeed at all, since we expect an invasion where it seems absolutely possible, not to mention likely. But the English people do not take their leadership to task in any way

for this. The man on the street here knows very well to distinguish between what is based on truth and what is calculated only as a bluff by the opponent. No one in England thinks of weighing their own news about military successes on a gold scale. Thus, a kind of side theater has opened up where the enemy can operate with cynical ruthlessness. We have no intention of following him in his methods, but at least we must be allowed to meet them with utmost restraint.

And it is precisely through this that the British nerve warfare conducted against us finds its drastic refutation. Both in London and in Washington and Moscow, they would like to learn more from us than we are currently able and willing to say. The German Wehrmacht has not lost any of its old strength. Streams of troops and weapons have more than filled our units on all fronts. We have an operational reserve at our disposal that is sufficient even for an exceptional case beyond normal expectations. The enemy would like to direct it at least to a significant extent to points that are more relevant to the war of nerves than to the war of weapons. If, above all in London and Washington, it is repeatedly claimed that they want to take a new initiative at this or that point, then it must be left to us to react to it in reality or only seemingly. But such boasting cannot lure us out of reserve and encourage us to make hasty counter-statements. As wise as they are in London, we have been so for a long time.

Also, as regards the air and submarine war, restraint in news policy is the highest command today. It goes without saying that the German military leadership is doing everything possible to make us active again on these two battlefields. If nothing is said publicly about it, there are good reasons for this, but certainly not that we have nothing to say about it. We simply do not speak of it to give the enemy no opportunity to judge upcoming developments. However, it should not be assumed that the government is letting things run their course. Too much is at stake. In a time like this, which imposes a thousand commandments of silence on military conduct, the rumor-monger usually seizes the word. In his inferior instinct, he senses the favorable opportunity. The less that can be said from above, the more extravagant his imagination becomes. He exudes and spreads every bit of nonsense, circulated and offered with smacking relish as the latest sensational news. Refuted a hundred times by facts and events, he ventures forth for the hundred and first time where he finds the opportunity favorable. Acting with the demeanor of the know-it-all, he paints a picture of the state

of affairs that is downright grotesque in its absurdity. His sources are more than ordinary. But they suffice to give him, in the eyes of the indifferent or less thoughtful listeners, the importance of a credible informant.

The Preconditions for Victory

July 25, 1943

Contrary to a widely held belief, this summer has once again seen a more fluid progression of the war. The stagnation of the past months has been overcome. Both on the Eastern Front and in the Mediterranean region, the enemy has initiated new actions, to which a response from the Axis powers, scarcely expected by them and no longer considered possible, has followed. The dull silence of the weapons has been broken. Once again, war rushes across the open fields at the edges of our continent, subjecting the contenders for the palm of victory to a rigorous and unrelenting examination. We are approaching the decision by a good margin. It will now have to be proven whether our months-long efforts in the total war context have yielded the desired success. From our side, everything that could be done has been done, and our armed forces have been prepared to cope with the demands of this summer. They cannot and will not evade them, and the German people also prefer a harsh decision on this or that battlefield to a long and nerve-wracking waiting. Action is the most meaningful expression of war. It alone can bring about solutions that a tactic of restrained defense will forever deny.

This also applies in reverse for the enemy side. The international tension, which they had artificially intensified through a large-scale psychological campaign, has been resolved. Words must now be turned into deeds. The enemy can no longer suffice with merely speculating about our imminent destruction; they must now seriously attempt it. London, Washington, and Moscow will all come to realize this after the first engagements of this summer. They have refuted the previous depiction of the general situation, as it was common in the enemy camp. The German armed forces have demonstrated their old combat strength wherever they have been deployed. The leisurely stroll of the English and Americans across Europe will come to nothing. They must fight, and against a severity and bitterness of our resistance that apparently far surpasses all frivolous notions of the enemy. For them now, it is no longer about achieving convenient military successes on the periphery. Europe has entered the decisive struggle. What this means will become evident to our adversaries in due time, to an extent that will be far from welcome to them.

We await the further developments with calm confidence. Just as we were not misled by the enemy's psychological warfare in recent weeks and months, we are not now by the onslaught of their weapons. We know very well how to distinguish between what the enemy plays and what is genuine to them. We have been initiated too long into the affairs of psychological warfare for it to make any impression on us. And as for the striking power of the weapons, our confidence in our armed forces is limitless. The previous setbacks in Axis military leadership were solely due to superior forces. Against them stand unique historical military successes that cannot be argued away even by the enemy. They have lost none of their enduring power; on the contrary, they still define the overall picture of the war today and secure us the firm and impregnable positions on which our further conduct of the war is based. The assets we possess are sufficient for a complete victory. We can only welcome that they are once again being put to the test. This strengthens our confidence and will shatter many frivolous hopes of the enemy.

In contrast to our operations in the East during the past two summers, which were aimed at achieving extensive successes, this year's operations initiated by the enemy aim to inflict as heavy a loss as possible in troops and weapons on the Soviets. This has already happened to a significant extent and will continue on a large scale. The current material battles in the East are thus a prelude to the coming winter. Just as the long duration of the war gnaws at the core of our national strength, so it does much more dangerously to that of our enemies. We hold the longer lever. We have the assets of victory in hand, not the enemy. What this means will only become fully clear to us in the further course of military operations. Naturally, this is also understood in the enemy camp. The victories that are celebrated over there and that are now bursting forth in loud jubilation cannot be compared at all to those that we have achieved as prerequisites for the final victory. Even in London, Washington, and Moscow, there is no doubt that significant parts of the European continent are not only militarily but also in terms of strength and commitment in our hands. It may suffer occasional wounds here and there, but these do not affect vital organs. Despite all the clamor from the other side, these organs have remained unscathed. A war, planned as ours is for the long term and pursuing great historical objectives, cannot be measured with the yardstick of locally or temporally conditioned events. It must be designed after a grand projection and must never stand in the way of considerations of

prestige or external appearance. We fight this war to defend our lives, using the means available to us at the time. It is inevitable that the development sometimes swings in this or that direction. We are certainly not among those who have a distorted view of war clouded by frivolous illusions. We see things quite realistically. But precisely because of this, we repeatedly conclude that our cause can only be jeopardized by ourselves. Our people have little experience in the problems of grand politics and war and tend to judge them more with feeling than with reason. Therefore, its leadership has all the more duty to approach the questions of this war with sober realism and, in no case, to be determined in the decision of truly vital matters by considerations of the day. War may be harsh for the individual and in the individual case, but it is still better and more bearable than a so-called peace as our enemies would impose on us if we succumbed to their temptations. Just as there is little reason for it, there is also little possibility of it.

In the camp of our adversaries, they cannot contain themselves with pride over the perceived or actual successes they have achieved in recent times. This has been so often that it hardly makes an impression on us: If one were to tally up the alleged victories that the other side believed they could claim in the past two years, and compare them to the question of whether this has fundamentally changed the general military situation, the answer to this question would be: No. All in all, although the enemy has managed to gain ground psychologically since the beginning of this war, militarily not much has changed. At least we believe we can assume that if the English had the assets currently in our hands, they would also allow no doubt about their eventual final victory. From this, it must be deduced again that their verbal and written campaign against us represents pure agitation, calculated exclusively to win world opinion for the enemy's cause and to confuse us about our own cause. It is entirely up to us whether they succeed.

It is often argued that modern warfare of materials cannot be compared at all with wars of past centuries. That is true if one judges war by its external forms of expression, but not if one evaluates it by its inner substance. Wars have always been battles of destiny and existence for peoples, and if today, in giant battles, millions of men ready for war clash, whereas in previous centuries only tens of thousands, even thousands, and sometimes only a few hundred measured their strength against each other, that says nothing about war itself. A new era has always been determined by its outcome, for better or worse. Peoples were either struck in their lifeblood

or completely extinguished, or they were carried to the heights of their historical triumph. Therefore, they had and must always bring the same thing to bear for victory, namely their existence. It would be a gross historical mistake to believe that a people today could escape this necessity. Modern material war does not change that at all. It has only intensified the methods of warfare, probably also revolutionized them, but in this war, they still serve the same goal as always, victory or destruction. If we Germans want to assert ourselves as a great power, indeed as a people at all, then we must fight with our existence for our existence. A loss in this struggle would not only bring an unimaginable disaster upon the generation living today but, what would be even worse, would destroy our national substance to such an extent that it would hardly be capable of any vital signs for the foreseeable future. This is the unspoken and often spoken war goal of our enemies. They attacked us for this goal, and today they spare no effort to force us to our knees through armed force and cunning. The more deeply convinced we are of our inviolable historical right, the less vulnerable we will be to the vicissitudes of fortune in war. They are quite inevitable and mean something only when military leadership does not draw consequences from them or the people allow themselves to be disconcerted in their moral resistance. Neither of these is the case with us. We are entirely immune to war. We take it as it is.

But that has nothing to do with our firm and unshakable belief in victory. This is based not only on emotional values but also on real assets. We assume to possess an exhaustive overview of our own chances, as well as those of the enemy, far from the noise of newspapers and radio stations, we build a very clear and realistic picture of war, which stands up to even the most critical scrutiny. In unfavorable times, there may be cracks here and there, but the image itself remains completely intact and complete. It only needs to be viewed from a certain distance for this to be determined. The enemy, in any case, has had no opportunity to inflict irreparable damage on it. And that is ultimately decisive. The larger the overview of the overall war picture, the more impressively our chances for victory emerge. However, one must possess an eye that masters the art of distinguishing between the essential and the non-essential for their objective assessment. Naturally, the English and Americans are currently pleased to be able to make a first modest gain in various areas. But it will be primarily when they are determined to tear us apart with everything they have in the hopes that this will be the end of our place in Europe for all time. That is the real dilemma for the enemy and the real objective of our struggle.

A Word on Air Warfare

August 4, 1943

British air terror has intensified in recent weeks beyond all previously experienced measures. We are thus faced with problems that require a large portion of our national strength. It is no longer just about the predominantly affected areas bearing high sacrifices of goods and blood due to enemy air warfare; even those areas previously spared must now be more heavily involved in the generous relief measures to be implemented for air emergency areas and their populations.

This brings a multitude of inconveniences, worries, and burdens, but they can certainly be borne more easily than the severe sufferings that the air emergency areas must endure. The problems raised by this can only be solved in the spirit of community, which fills and moves the German people under the banner of National Socialist doctrine.

All measures of the Reich government, no matter how much hardship they may bring in detail, also serve the welfare of the people in this area. They can only be adhered to if the population participates in disciplined execution. There is no war problem that cannot be solved through the solidarity of all, and every knot, even the toughest, will eventually unravel if everyone helps to untangle it instead of tightening it further through folly and shortsightedness.

We must deal with the current issues of air warfare calmly and soberly. It is our national duty to bravely face its dangers and do everything possible to limit them to a tolerable extent. Detailed guidelines have been provided to the population through the press on how this is to be done. If we all follow these guidelines with discipline, then we will gradually gain control of the situation.

Our enemies speculate that we will lose our composure in this process. If we were to grant them this favor, we would inflict serious harm on our homeland. No good German can want that. Therefore, the first commandment is: discipline!

Anyone who acts independently outside the issued guidelines, which are carefully considered and by no means desk work, does so at their own risk. They cannot complain if they suddenly face particularly great difficulties. It is not without reason, for example, that I have ordered children to be sent to reception areas designated for the Reich capital, accompanied by their non-working mothers or otherwise their teachers, if desired. I myself have a group of children at home and know very well what it means for parents to be separated from them during this difficult time. But precisely because I have children, I am in favor of them leaving Berlin if possible.

I believe it is better for the children and also for us who remain in Berlin for our work and for the defense of our city if they are absolutely safe. Apart from the possibly imminent immediate danger, frequent life in air raid shelters at night is also not good for them. Anyone who truly loves their children should therefore take the opportunity to send them to the countryside. I will personally ensure that they are well cared for and provided for there. In quieter times, we will receive them back healthy and fresh.

I do not believe anyone could seriously object to this. If they still have concerns, they can, if absolutely necessary, keep their children here against the well-considered opinion of the leadership. I would regret that, especially for their own sake, but I cannot and will not force anyone. If the question must be raised at all, the children naturally belong to the parents, and they naturally have the final say on this matter.

The question of whether Berlin will be attacked by British terror bombers is very difficult to answer. In any case, it would be irresponsible and irresponsible to simply rely on the fact that this will not be the case. No one knows everything; I can only act based on the experiences gained so far in air warfare, as well as I can. I only obey my conscience and my sense of duty in doing so, even at the risk that some may not understand me and harbor resentment toward me for this or that measure.

It may be possible that one or the other of these measures is excessive, but it is better to do too much than too little. As Gauleiter of Berlin, I will, of course, not leave the capital city myself because, like hundreds of thousands of my fellow citizens, I have my job here and I also believe that, if we are attacked, I can and must do something for the population here.

We have taken all necessary measures to ensure that the air defense of the capital city is as capable as possible of meeting any demands placed on it. We very much hope that it will prove itself in case of emergency. The population has been called upon by me to further expand civil defense efforts with their own efforts. They have not only not denied my appeal but have followed it in a truly impressive manner. I would have to know the Berliners poorly if I believed they would fold their hands in the face of impending danger. The more manfully we confront enemy air warfare, the less difficult it will become.

Regarding the question of securing houses and apartments, everything necessary has been said about this in the press. Everyone would do well to remember the advice and instructions given there as precisely as possible. They may well need them at some point. I know that air warfare is a terrible thing, but there are worse things, and the worst would be if we failed in the face of its burdens. What the English endured in the fall of 1940, and for which some of us admired them, we must now endure.

I emphatically reject the enemy's insinuation that Berliners have weaker nerves than Londoners. There is absolutely no basis for this. As the tide turned for the English in the field of air warfare since 1940, so it will turn again for us. The English waited two years for it; our waiting time will only be a small part of the English waiting time.

No one should believe that the Führer watched the ravages of enemy terror passively. If we do not talk about our measures against it, it is only proof that we are working all the harder on it. This blemish will be smoothed out. The clouds will clear, and the sky over us will be clear again. Until then, we must demonstrate steadfastness. If we were to succumb to enemy air terror, we would make the most tragic mistake of our entire history, and indeed, the enemy would once again cast the German nation into a historyless existence. No one in Germany thinks of that, but no one should think of it either.

German soldiers on the fronts do not waver or retreat. They have triumphed over every crisis and setback. A few days ago, a usually not very friendly neutral newspaper wrote that the stoic equanimity that today pervades the entire German people reminds one of the best years of the

Frederickian era. This sentence should make us all very proud. We want to earn it anew every day. Frederick sometimes faced dangers with his young Prussian state that we cannot even compare to those we have to overcome today. But he coped with them, and on the way there, Prussia became a world power, and he himself became the greatest king in history.

In this war, we want to make the Reich the leading power in Europe. That is difficult and, like every historical goal, requires great sacrifices and much blood. But no one must despair of this task. It is worth everything we are and everything we possess. Our enemies not only want our national future but also want to destroy the substance of our people. There can be no bargaining with such an infamous intention. Against this, a people must fight as long as there is breath in them. Our soldiers do this at the front, and we do it at home. Air terror is the meanest weapon of the enemy toward this goal. It must be neutralized by us, initially through our discipline and self-defense, in addition to our increasingly growing military defensive strength from week to week, but from a certain point on by our newly built offensive weapon. In this phase of development, no one must lose patience and firm male courage, for these virtues are our main weapons in the fight.

What leadership can do has been done. Nothing is neglected that human power can achieve. What goes beyond that, our people must overcome today with male tenacity and determination.

In these difficult weeks, we must behave as we wish to have behaved after victory. Therefore, the commandment of the hour is: discipline, steadfastness of spirit, and an iron heart. The capital city will allow no other city in the Reich to surpass it in proving these virtues.

The Moral as a Decisive Factor in War

August 7, 1943

In these weeks, we are traversing a decisive phase of the war. With an unprecedented surge of weapons and moral pressure, the enemy attempts to wrest from us the positions we secured in the first half of this tremendous global conflict, positions that constitute the foundation of our victory. Only thus can the enormous material battles in the East, the constantly renewed heavy and fierce offensives of the English and Americans in Sicily, and the brutal air terror against German homeland territories be explained. The enemy aims to achieve decisive breakthroughs on the fronts while simultaneously wearing down the morale of the German people, which it assumes cannot withstand such extraordinary strains. Such an interpretation of the current military situation is not a faint theory; it is openly and unabashedly admitted by the enemy. They believe they can force us to our knees through a concentrated general assault from all sides and achieve final victory in this manner, avoiding lengthy, laborious, and bloody military operations.

Certainly, such an attempt also plays a decisive role in the war on our nerves, and since the enemy side seems to slowly realize that mere agitational phrases in this field cannot achieve significant success, they are now proceeding to actions.

These actions clearly reflect the hearts of the Anglo-American plutocrats. Just as in the First World War, when they wore down the German people by cynically waging a hunger war against defenseless women and children, today they are attempting the same through air terror against the German homeland. It should not be denied here that the enemy's air war costs us considerable losses of property and blood and accordingly presents us with significant difficulties of all kinds. The enemy knows this as well as we do; for they experienced something similar in the summer and autumn of 1940, with the difference that the German Air Force then exclusively attacked military and industrial targets, whereas today the enemy's attacks are almost

exclusively directed against the German civilian population and thus against our war morale. The English scarcely bother to deny this anymore; on the contrary, they argue in favor of shortening the war in this way and thereby saving British blood. As one can see, this is a highly simple, typically English calculation that does credit to the brutal cynicism of the gentlemen across the Channel.

It is now up to us to respond accordingly. And since, at the moment, we cannot do so through concentrated counterattacks, which will naturally be the most effective measure eventually, we must do so through defensive measures. Defense itself breaks down into two different parts, military and civilian. As for the military aspect, everything possible is being done here to intensify it further. Our military defense capabilities have already undergone significant reinforcement, which is growing relentlessly day by day. The enemy suffers enormous losses in his terror attacks on Reich territory, which, in the long run, he may be able to afford materially, but hardly in terms of personnel. It is to be expected that these losses will not only not decrease but will continue to rise with the expansion and refinement of our defense capabilities. Such a development can take place very rapidly under certain circumstances.

So what we are witnessing today in the field of aerial warfare is a genuine test of nerves. The English endured this nerve test under much more unfavorable political and military conditions in 1940; we must endure it in 1943. And just as the British government then made the decision to give a fundamental turn to the air war through a radical solution, namely the construction of its own new offensive weapon, this decision has been firmly established for us for some time now. Of course, public discussion cannot yet take place regarding the nature of its preparation and the probable date of its practical initiation, but this changes nothing about the fact that it is slowly but surely beginning to materialize.

As for civilian defense against enemy air terror, corresponding measures also divide into preventive and remedial actions here. Preventive measures include, for example, sending children, elderly, and non-working women from the capital, which we assume may in the future be the target of enemy terror attacks, to the reception areas designated for Berlin. This is not to say that Berlin must necessarily be attacked, but we consider caution the better part of wisdom. There is no talk at all of total evacuation. It is only

about partial evacuations that are properly prepared and do not cause any unrest.

The reception areas face a significant and difficult task in caring for their compatriots assigned from the air emergency areas, which will certainly bring them many difficulties. But we have dealt with other difficulties before. Just as the recipients must understand the situation of the received, so must it be the other way around. If the English press convinces its readers that such and similar measures would provoke panic in German wartime life, their audience will have to pay dearly for this mistake. We made a similar mistake when the British government sent London's children to the countryside in 1940. Hardly any of our hopes in this regard have been fulfilled. Therefore, we do not find anything wrong with openly discussing these issues. It would be much worse if we did nothing in this matter and lost credit with our enemies. The war is not decided by wishes or illusions, but only by hard facts.

Our measures in the field of civil protection and civil defense match the rhythms of the enemy's methods of air terror. They are continuously made known to the public and must be meticulously observed by each individual in their own personal interest. From the government's side, everything possible is being done here. But these measures would be inadequate if the population did not supplement them through their own self-help. Much can be achieved here with foresight, courage, and cool consideration. We must never forget that emerging difficulties are transitional phenomena, and the enemy's onslaught against us, both through air warfare and on the fronts in the East and South, will experience a temporal limitation. So now it is crucial that everyone stands at their post and does their duty, one in active defense, the other in caring for those affected by enemy air terror. The success of our homeland is assured the more resolutely our people act in these circumstances. The main burden of the struggle for our lives falls at one time on this, at another time on that part of the population, and each time, the one who is in turn must prove themselves.

This is equally true for the soldier. At the fronts, periods of relative calm alternate with periods of enormous, almost superhuman efforts and dangers, and in such times, it is essential that the respective unit maintains its nerve, fights bravely and preparedly, and defends its position with all determination entrusted to them. The enemy will not aim his actions at sparing us but at burdening us particularly heavily. He seeks, indeed, at some

point and by every conceivable means, to achieve a breakthrough, even a breach, at some point. And precisely that must be prevented.

Of course, they also cook with water. The Soviets besiege our front with such a gigantic deployment of men and material to clear the way into Ukraine. But they need this because, otherwise, they would hardly be able to cope with their growing food shortages in the long run. The English and Americans storm against our Sicilian front to knock the South out of the fight, and they also deploy their air force, accepting heavy and heaviest losses, against us to break our morale. Recently, an American correspondent reported from London that the British people were war-weary and crying out for victories to bring it to an end. So we must prevent England from achieving such victories, and that is our duty and task on all fronts, both abroad and at home. England has never won a war through genuine military victories. Either they sent other peoples into the fire for their interests or, through pressure on the nerves of their respective opponents, prematurely achieved a decision in their favor, for which there was usually no military justification. Today they want to try the same with us. It is our task at home to fully and completely frustrate this attempt.

In such a phase of war, the morale of the people is a war-decisive factor. There have been situations in the Seven Years' War in which Prussia was saved only by the steadfastness of its king. The present situation cannot even remotely be compared with the crises of Prussia at that time. We would have no right to attribute a great historical character to our time if its sovereign mastery were not a matter of course for us. For only its overcoming will remain from the dangers. No one can hope to receive forgiveness from posterity for a personal failure because they were exposed to particularly heavy burdens. For the difficulties that we face today in all areas will fade the more temporal distance we gain; what remains admirable about them is only the manner in which we cope with them.

It is almost taken for granted that the soldier at the front preserves equanimity in critical situations and, when the order comes, leaves the protective trench and rushes into the enemy fire. If he does not do this, he is called a coward. But nonetheless, every leap in the decisive moment requires from him courage, bravery, cool-headedness, and a strong heart. These same virtues must be proven by us morally and, if necessary, physically at home. Our enemies fight only with human forces. They are surmountable, even if it

sometimes seems so difficult on this or that front section. London newspapers reported a few days ago that our troops fought like devils in Sicily and that the enemy had to pay for every meter of ground with streams of blood. These are German sons who stand there on far-forward posts, and through their unwavering heroism, they demonstrate not only physical but also moral courage. If our entire people is filled with their spirit, then the enemy cannot snatch victory from us at all.

None of us will want to gloss over the air war against the German homeland. It places our people under a severe test. But this test we must pass. That is a prerequisite for victory. The enemy's assault on our war morale

will rebound off our firm resolve, just as the onslaught of his weapons rebounds off the bravery of our front. We have become a world people; accordingly, we must behave. Friend and foe alike look upon us today and ask anew every day: Will they pass the tough test?

Our answer to this question cannot be doubtful. The English have long since ceased to boast that their people are tougher than ours. They face a nation that is under all circumstances and in any case determined to defend its life and its freedom by all means and to end the tremendous struggle for its existence only with victory. Such determination cannot be denied success in the long run. Sometimes it is subjected to severe tests, but precisely in these, the people must prove that it is genuine and unconditional. This proof concerns everyone. Our war morale is a matter for the individual but also for the community. Today, it is attacked by the enemy; therefore, it must be defended by all of us.

Our people have learned much from the past, above all, that one should never trust a treacherous enemy. This lesson has become ingrained in us. Without hesitation or wavering, we act according to its law, a people of brave men and willing women, with a youth full of idealism and dedication, all in all, a nation that fights for its freedom with all means and will therefore also achieve it.

The passage you provided is from a speech by Adolf Hitler on August 14, 1943, discussing the fluctuating fortunes of war and Germany's strategic position during World War II. Here's a translation:

On the Longer Lever Arm

August 14, 1943

It is only natural that the general wartime situation in such a gigantic struggle is subject to constant fluctuations and changes. These affect not only the positions of our enemies but also our own. The first half of this war saw us victorious on all fronts in a superior manner. We achieved military successes that, back in September 1939, we dared not imagine even in our boldest dreams.

When we recall our precarious situation at the beginning of this war, it becomes particularly evident to us. At that time, according to normal human calculations, our situation was almost hopeless. If ever there was a need for the strength of an entirely unbroken and undaunted faith in the German people and its great national future to dare the hardest path, it was during the time when we fought at the Rhine and Danzig, not knowing exactly if the enemy would soon succeed in bringing the war itself into the heart of our homeland.

Since then, much water has flowed down the rivers of Europe. Through an incomparably bold strategy, the Führer succeeded in carrying the war far from our homeland. Today, our soldiers fight exclusively outside our borders, mostly more than a thousand kilometers away from German Reich territory. Who would have dared to hope for this at the beginning of this war?

On the Eastern Front, the Soviets are attempting to break through our front with a massive onslaught of troops and materials. They have pinned extensive expectations on this offensive, none of which have been decisively fulfilled so far, and likely will not be in the future. Therefore, it is not the case that we should be disappointed by the course of operations this summer in the East, as the enemy would have us believe, but rather the opposite. They built up great expectations before its commencement. Their hopes for a definitive turning point in the fortunes of war are buried under the immense mass of their destroyed tanks and aircraft. In what mood would we find ourselves today if, conversely, we had to make such a colossal effort, let's say to recapture the Elbe from the west, and it remained unsuccessful?

Answering this question also provides an answer to the other, concerning the current mood of the Soviets.

The situation for the English and Americans is not much better. Although they indulge in arrogant predictions of victory, one can discern in them an inner insecurity that is hardly concealable. Upon closer inspection, it will be noted that their insecurity is only too justified. After the conclusion of the North African campaign, enemy operations announced amphibious landings across the entire European continent. These were intended to force us to withdraw significant amounts of troops and materials from the Eastern Front and thereby destabilize our position in the East. None of this has materialized. We are fighting in the southernmost part of our continent instead of in the Netherlands and Belgium. There can be no talk of a decisive change in the general war situation here either, and after their experiences with our soldiers in the East and South, the enemy knows that for every meter of ground taken from us, which, as a battlefield, must be emphasized once again, mostly lies well over a thousand kilometers from our national borders, they must pay with rivers of blood.

Thus, we hold the longer lever arm. If they sneer at us in London, Washington, and Moscow that we have not gained any enemy territory this summer, we can calmly reply that we do not need to gain any for victory. It suffices completely that we do not allow ourselves to be deprived of any territory of military value. For we are in possession of the enemy's space, which is decisive for war, not our opponents. One needs only to consider what the enemy would think of his prospects for war if he were in our favorable position to know who will ultimately emerge victorious. For then the English would have the Ruhr region in their hands, and the Soviets would be fighting at the Elbe; on the other hand, we would have succeeded this summer with the greatest efforts, let's say, in driving back the English from Münster to Gelsenkirchen and the Bolsheviks from Brandenburg to Potsdam. It must be admitted that this would not be a reason for us to hope for victory. The noose that the enemy would have placed around our neck in such a case would only be loosened slightly, without any significant change in our desperate situation. It can hardly be assumed that the English or Soviets would let themselves be convinced by us under such circumstances that the war was lost for them. Conversely, how could we fall for such propaganda from the enemy! It is too foolish and transparent to have any effect on us. The safeguards of victory are in our hands. We concede to the enemy that

this summer he is making every effort to wrest from us one or the other. However, the unbiased observer must admit that these efforts have so far been devoid of any decisive success.

Of course, such a war balance will be countered from the enemy side, claiming it is invalid because we are ignoring the air war. We do not deny that enemy air terror causes us many additional concerns and difficulties. We have never hidden this fact. But we emphasize once again that these concerns and difficulties are under no circumstances decisive or will be decisive in war. They mainly concern our civilian life in the homeland, the security of our homes and apartments, and the preservation of life and health of our civilian population. We are fully aware that the enemy here shows no mercy, just as in the First World War, where they ruthlessly enforced a blockade against German women and children to force our people to their knees through hunger. Against the enemy air war, we initially possess the means of military and civilian defense, and from a later point, the means of a massive counterattack. Until then, we will have to cope with it, and there is no one in Germany who considers it impossible. The blows we receive here are severe and harsh, but we are determined to endure them. However, completely mistaken is the hope of the English and Americans that we could ever be boxed out of the war by Anglo-American air terror.

The cities that the enemy reduces to rubble and ash will be rebuilt in a few years after victory, more beautiful and spacious than they ever were. A National Socialist leadership that could build the Western and Atlantic Walls, partly during the war, within a year, will also be fully capable of mastering this enormous problem. If today we manage to evade again and again the enemy air terror through our war production and to keep human losses to a tolerable extent through appropriate measures, which are being taken everywhere, then we will be able to bridge the gap that separates us from much more drastic countermeasures against the arrogant enemy. The general picture itself is therefore not decisively changed by the air war. Our chances for complete victory are not diminished by it; it is only necessary for us to remain determined to cope with the growing difficulties in pursuit of enemy air terror.

And it is evident throughout the German nation, far and wide, that we are doing so. In mastering each critical moment of the war, all layers of our people demonstrate what borders on the unimaginable. Never before in

peacetime would the world have deemed it possible that we Germans were capable of this at all. If it is nevertheless the case, it must be attributed to the stubborn determination of the German people on the front lines and in the homeland, under no circumstances to let victory slip from their hands again. The enemy deceives himself greatly if he believes this determination is solely a matter of German leadership. Today, it is the concern of every individual German, whether already struck by war or hitherto spared by it. And precisely those who have already lost everything know exactly that only through victory can they regain everything. The enemy's terror intentions pursued through air warfare are unmistakable.

But they fail to affect the German people. Above all, the English believe in their arrogance that, unlike them, we Germans show no strength in taking blows. The cities in the air emergency areas have already taught them otherwise. What, for example, the population of Hamburg endured without being in any way deterred in their upright attitude, testifies to an unparalleled heroism. The entire German nation bows before their heroic spirit. We will never forget them.

What here and everywhere else in the West, Northwest, and elsewhere in the vast Reich territory the homeland accomplishes and endures in the fight against enemy air terror will be worthy of the highest praise from posterity. When we rebuild the destroyed cities after the war, every stone will testify to the tenacity and unyielding determination of a population that surpassed itself in enduring misery and hardship. But we will not be bowed by it. We simply will not allow the general picture of the war to shift significantly. We intend to conduct ourselves in this war so that at its end, there will be nothing about the enemy to admire that we ourselves have not also achieved. Not only in our victories do we aim to surpass them, but also in the occasional acceptance of setbacks and reversals, we will set an incomparable example for them and the world.

We have every prerequisite for this; we need only to use them. So now it is essentially a matter of maintaining equanimity in all situations, of steadfastly and unwaveringly believing in final victory, of fighting bravely, tenaciously, and fiercely for what has been so laboriously achieved, and of not conceding any significant success to the enemy on any front, whether abroad or at home. Grand strategy is above all a system of contingencies, especially in the critical phases of war. The longer the war lasts, the more

compelled military leadership will be to employ this system. This is not in itself alarming in any way, as long as it is done with the corresponding sovereign confidence. German military leadership has never allowed itself to be deprived of this.

This war is and remains a fight for the existence or non-existence of the German nation. That is its ultimate goal. Its grand strategy consists in creating the basic conditions for a final victory in a war that forces everyone into this fight to the bitter end.

The Realities of War

August 22, 1943

A mature political judgment requires not only intelligence but also imagination. And it is precisely the latter that is often lacking in those who most loudly and persistently claim such judgment for themselves. They delight in constructing a sort of speculative arithmetic from war, which rarely stands up to closer scrutiny. This can be observed especially in the critical phases of this struggle of fate, where false cleverness, famously described by Clausewitz as seeking only to evade danger, dares to re-emerge. Heroism is a cheap commodity in normal times, and it costs little to parade it around when not subjected to trials and dangers. But it is in times of need that a person's true character is revealed. Here, their otherwise hidden virtues and vices are laid bare, and whether one is a hero or a coward can only be proven through actions, not words. It is a universally known fact that the loudest shouters in good fortune are equally the loudest in misfortune. Just as they delude themselves in good times, they wallow in hopelessness and pessimism in bad. They can only be punished with contempt; they deserve nothing else, certainly nothing better. It is only to be welcomed that they represent a hopeless minority among us and as such wield no influence whatsoever.

Many otherwise well-intentioned people make the mistake in war of judging the general situation solely by their own difficulties. This arises from the fact that they alone face these difficulties. They overlook that most of these are due to war and apply equally to the enemy as they do to us. Furthermore, there are of course those difficulties that are exclusively reserved for us; however, these are mostly balanced out by others that are exclusively present only with the enemy. On the whole, they even out, and it is precisely for this reason that the outcome depends on which side brings the highest energy and the strongest self-assurance to their resolution, thereby gaining the upper hand over the other side. For every great action, belief in its success is essential, both for the individual and for an entire nation.

Since the beginning of this war, our enemies have been diligently working to portray a picture of the general situation that, while not corresponding in any way to reality, is aimed at accommodating our national

character disposition as much as possible. We Germans have experienced much misfortune in our history and are therefore extraordinarily suspicious in the face of a series of successes. But if these are followed by occasional failures, we indulge in a kind of self-accusation that seems only suited to paralyzing our activity and self-assurance. The National Socialist leadership feels completely free of this German hereditary evil. The rise of our movement from humble beginnings to power is a singular refutation of its existence among us. The same virtue of steadfastness now characterizes German leadership in this tremendous struggle for our lives. They see things realistically and soberly, as they are, but they do not confront them merely with intellect, but also with imagination. As the development proves, they have always managed to deal with them, and this will also be the case in the future. There is no difficulty that cannot be overcome if a great people wills it.

Our judgment of the war is somewhat biased due to the great victories of the past. They have imparted to us an understanding of things that is often heavily clouded by false perceptions. Many of us have temporarily imagined that such a tremendous world struggle could be managed without crises. But that would have been unnatural, not natural. From the beginning, we had to reckon that the enormous trials would come later, and it was considered true fortune if we could secure enough pledges in the first half of this war to face them. Indeed, that has been the case. We tore open the stranglehold that the enemy had already placed around our necks at the beginning of the war. If there could be talk of uncertainty in our position, it was then, when, pressed together in our narrow homeland, we had to start by catching our breath. That we succeeded is to be considered a true miracle. There was cause for heartache when we were attacked by our enemies. The worst danger has been averted through the victories of the first three years of this war.

That this depiction of the development is correct is evident from the attitude that our soldiers demonstrate towards it. Every German's heart should beat higher when they hear from English or American voices that our troops in the East and South fight like tigers and defend the space they hold a thousand kilometers beyond our borders as if it were their own homeland. This is proof that the German soldier, unlike some politicizing carouser at home, does not babble about politics but acts politically. He knows what it's about. He feels keenly that he owes it to his fallen comrades to hold onto the pledges of victory, earned even through their sacrificial deaths, and defend

them with all imaginable strength. For here lies the guarantee of our final triumph. If anyone doubts how we will achieve victory in this manner, we need only point out that this question is much more relevant for the enemy side, because we have the conditions for victory in our hands, not them.

It is clear that at the moment the enemy camp is watching with the highest tension how the German people react to the latest developments. For the morale of the warring peoples is in this war more than in any of its predecessors a decisive factor. Every day, English and American newspapers publish extensive reports on the internal situation in the Reich, where speculations and vague hopes chase each other. One would have to be very stupid not to see that enemy air terror is exclusively aimed at undermining our war morale and making the German people a willing ally of its enemies. It can only be described as outrageous when individual contemporaries here and there, even if mostly unconsciously, allow themselves to be ready to serve as accomplices to enemy propaganda in view of this circumstance. They thereby inflict the greatest harm on our cause, precisely by encouraging the enemy through their behavior to continue his blind, furious terror against the German homeland and possibly even intensify it. We know precisely that these are isolated phenomena; but precisely these are generalized by the enemy side and taken as the basis for their further actions against our civilian population. Today, the best service to the fatherland is rendered by those who uprightly and bravely fulfill their duty, faithfully and steadfastly believe in our great cause, and let nothing and no one shake their confidence in final victory.

As for our great cause itself, it rests and is built on a solid foundation. We do not conduct warfare in a vacuum, nor do we scorn to plunge our people from one illusion into another. We see the situation quite realistically and soberly with its weaknesses, but also with its opportunities. The German leadership knows not only the possibilities that are available to us today but also those that are offered to us in the nearer and more distant future. If all that we have in preparation and in reserve could be openly discussed, the doubter would probably also be taught better. But the interest of the country forbids speaking about the future, indeed even about essential components of the present. Anyway, there is already too much talk about it, which is not conducive to the cause. But precisely in such moments, when events dramatically intensify and one crisis follows another, it is necessary

for the entire people to look with sovereign confidence towards the leader in whose hands it has placed its destiny.

When the German leadership remains silent, it has always had a reason to do so. But never has this reason been due to internal uncertainty. There is certainly more to say today about the situation itself than the layman can imagine. But not only the German people, but also the enemy conduct of war is plagued by thirst for knowledge. So it has nothing to do with affectation if the redeeming word remains unspoken at this moment in several respects. The fact that such times give free rein to rumor-mongers is a regrettable fact that must be accepted in the national interest. But even these will become aware of the contemptibility of their actions in view of the circumstances described here. They are cowardly and stupid at the same time. They could not do their cause better if they were paid by the enemy for it. Everyone should remember their lazy talk from today in order to slap them around with it at the right moment.

For the time being, all they achieve by their babble is that the enemy will respond to explanations like these, for example, by saying that our war morale must be in a sorry state if we publicly discuss it. This is, of course, nonsense, but unfortunately London, Washington, and Moscow believe it. That does not change the war situation itself, but it gives the enemy camp hopes and illusions that in any case do us no good; and that's already something. What is currently being fantasized about us and our internal situation at the enemy already far exceeds the permissible measure. Notice the difference: when 600,000 miners strike for weeks in the USA, we only mention it briefly in the German press. We do not believe that such a strike will decide the war. When five criminals who intercepted enemy broadcasts and circulated their messages are brought to deserved punishment with us, the enemy press concludes that a revolution is imminent in the Reich. Nevertheless, we believe that we have the right to assume that the 600,000 striking miners represent a more threatening sign for the USA than the five criminal enemy listeners for us. On which side are the illusions and on which side the realities?

Recognizing this is crucial. Only those who have an eye for it can allow themselves to judge the war situation; for they see things as they are, not as the enemy wishes them to be. It is a better thing to have a thousand kilometers of enemy territory in hand than half a dozen Churchill-Roosevelt

conferences. One is a fact, the other only an expression of intentions and wishful thinking. But whether these will be fulfilled depends entirely on us and the capabilities that fate has given us.

On the Irreplaceability of Freedom

August 29, 1943

Especially in this dramatically turbulent time with its perpetual vicissitudes and changes, the correctness of the saying is repeatedly demonstrated: there is only one sin, and that is cowardice. When war leaves the immediate battlefield and sets up its quarters in the heart of the homeland, everyone suddenly becomes aware of how relative many external values of life are, and that only the values of character stand as enduring and unchangeable. Every great burden, whether it befall an individual or an entire people, can only be mastered from the depths of the soul. Those who do not possess such depths will hardly be equal to it. Ultimately, in war, it always comes down to freedom. To preserve and secure it for a people must always be the highest goal of politics and military leadership. For it is the root of national life. Everything else that a people loses in war can be replaced; only freedom is irreplaceable. It represents, so to speak, the substance of its national existence. From it, all life and all future develop. If it is lost, the possibility of continuing a people's national history disappears definitively. Therefore, in this war as in any other, we fight first and foremost for our freedom. It is under attack and threatened, thus it must be defended with everything we are and everything we have.

The concept of freedom is interpreted differently depending on the temperament of the judge. For example, we Germans were never as free and unbound in our relationship to the state itself as we were in November 1918 and in the subsequent period. Everyone could do as they pleased. Those who wanted to push could push. Those who enjoyed participating in anti-state movements and tearing down Iron Crosses from the frontline fighters were not hindered. If a soldier wanted to go home, he threw his rifle into the nearest ditch and fled. We paid dearly for this orgy of internal freedom with an unprecedented external political enslavement. It must therefore be the case that a people's freedom outwardly is always purchased with a certain internal constraint. This is especially true in war, especially for a people still in its infancy in history, trying to forge its way upward. It can only rise through

strict discipline, obedience, and loyalty. Any loosening of its internal state structure necessarily brings a danger to its foreign policy interests. And it is precisely this that hostile politics and military leadership target.

It is quite clear that a government in the course of a war must bear an immense burden. For war is indeed one great compulsion. This compulsion affects more or less every individual citizen, in certain cases even to the point of sacrificing their life for the community. But alongside this, there are also a series of smaller coercive measures that deeply intrude into the private sphere of individuals, ruthlessly eliminate beloved habits, and practice a sort of equalization in certain areas that is far from pleasant even in wartime. The leadership has to decide where these measures need to be implemented, and each of these decisions is a mortgage on their popularity. Nevertheless, none of these can be omitted if they appear necessary in the interest of the victorious continuation of the war. For war stands above everything else. If won, everything is won; if lost, everything is lost.

A limited intellect will only reluctantly agree to grasp these deeper connections of warfare and politics. It is indeed so cheap to blame a higher authority for everything that war inevitably brings in terms of inconveniences. And thankfully, there is a government responsible for planning and conducting the war, offering itself as a target for contradiction to the ill-intentioned critic. If war were as simple as the politicizing tinpot imagines, it would have ended long ago. But it has backgrounds that the superficial mind rarely discerns; it is here that its actual problems arise, and it is precisely these that must be overcome.

In this war, we face a hostile coalition that makes no secret of its plans for the destruction of the German people and Reich. It does not even consider it necessary to camouflage them with agitation. Its fight against us admittedly has nothing to do with rejecting our political views or our state regime. It solely targets our freedom and thereby the substance of our national life. That there can be no compromise with such plans and intentions naturally requires no explanation. A people must bravely and resolutely confront them at all costs, armed. The material values of private life appear small and insignificant compared to these national values, especially since their loss would mean their complete loss as a whole. They can therefore only be preserved through the fight for the whole. The more determinedly a people is resolved to this fight, the more secure the position it occupies in

war. We have never faced such a deadly danger in our history as we do today; but never has the recognition of this danger been so deeply rooted in the German people as it is in this war. None among us is unclear about this. Every German knows that we can only end the war through victory. There is no other possibility for us. Today, with our lives and our future, we defend the entire great and glorious history of our people. Through victory, it will experience its culmination. However, if we were to miss victory, it would nullify it altogether. No one knows better than the German leadership the tremendous burdens our people are subjected to by this war. They sometimes seem to exceed the ability of individuals to endure misery and hardship. It is therefore natural that only what is entirely unavoidable is demanded of the people. But this, too, must be accepted. It is no use to reason against it. If there were a useful remedy against it, the leadership would have applied it long ago. But even the hostile governments find themselves compelled to demand the harshest sacrifices from their peoples. In many cases, these exceed those demanded by us by a considerable margin. It therefore depends on who is most capable of withstanding this trial and who, at the critical moment, performs the decisive act that carries victory within it.

The genuine conditions for victory lie almost exclusively on our side. The means of warfare available to the enemy often inflict us with very painful and bloody wounds. Ours, effective against the enemy, however, target their vital organs. Thus, we possess more promising chances for victory, and as long as we do not let them slip away, victory is assured to us. The enemy knows full well that they cannot contest these chances through military actions. The developments on the battlefields during this summer are a classic proof of this. Therefore, their assault is also aimed at our morale, hoping that it would aid them in their otherwise hopeless military ventures. Whether that will ever happen depends not on the enemy but solely on ourselves. After the winter of 1941/42, the besieged Leningrad, as admitted by the Soviets themselves, counted over a million dead due to hunger and cold. The Soviets apparently believed they had to make this gigantic sacrifice for the sake of endurance. A similar sacrifice has never even been hinted at by any German city. However, this fact illustrates with whom we are dealing in this war and what they would be capable of if we were ever in their hands. One must not be blind to this alternative; on the contrary, one must face it boldly and without wavering, so that it never becomes reality. Nothing in war is more dangerous than self-deception; for it almost always results from wishful thinking that has little to do with harsh realities. However, the

realities are such that we have no choice but to firmly hold the reins of victory in our hands, even at the highest cost and, if necessary, through the heaviest sacrifices, to play them out in the decisive hour of battle. Whatever the enemy undertakes on all battlefields today is solely aimed at wresting a part of it from us and thereby diminishing our chances of victory. This must be prevented under all circumstances. That it is possible is proven by recent events themselves.

Four years of war have not only eroded the nerve substance of our people but also that of our enemies. In both camps, there is hardly any discussion or writing so unburdened about this gigantic confrontation of arms as there was just two years ago. This is because we now see the problems much more soberly, without, however, losing sight of their political compulsion. They have become inevitable. Either we solve them, or the enemy solves them at our expense. But it is a pious delusion to believe that they could be postponed again. The conflicts have been posed too uncompromisingly. They must be decided, one way or another. And when the yearning for a settled life sometimes appears so feverish and urgent in everyone, it can only be secured through struggle and victory. Occasionally growing weary under hard efforts is no shame. Each of us knows the occasional manifestations of an inner emptiness that begins to relativize life itself. They are repeatedly overcome by the never-ending obligations imposed on us by everyday life. They are not an exception unique to our side; they are also present on the opposite side to a great extent, and each side waits for the other to yield to them. This is the case in every combative confrontation, when it comes to the final showdown. The one who loses strength first is lost. For what he gives up in tenacity and energy benefits the other in addition and definitively gives him the upper hand. Therefore, no one should believe that such a process will be seen in a later historical examination under the pressure of the moment we face today. Whoever seeks reasons and explanations for the political or moral failure of a people in a decisive crisis, rather than being content with their mere observation, is mistaken. Even in this war, states and peoples have lost their nerve in their great hours of trial. The trials themselves have already faded from our memory today, but the consequences of their failure remain for the affected peoples. Anyone who gives up in a world struggle of such gigantic proportions inevitably and mercilessly sinks into a history that has long been predetermined.

Unbowed Berlin

Appeal following the British terror attack of August 23/24

August 29, 1943

Berliners!

After overcoming the most serious difficulties in dealing with the damages caused by the British terror attack on the night of August 23 to 24, I feel compelled to extend my thanks and special recognition to the entire population of Berlin for their upright attitude, spirit, and countless heroic acts demonstrated over the past days and nights.

I especially thank the members of the Berlin party organizations, the armed forces, the police and firefighting units, air defense, the German Red Cross, the OT, the Technical Emergency Service, the HJ, the authorities, and the women of the NS Women's League, who excelled particularly in feeding stations and caring for children. Men and women belonging to these organizations, many of whom worked tirelessly for three or four days and nights in exhausting conditions, despite suffering personal losses from the enemy terror attacks, surpassed each other in selfless duty and, through tremendous collective effort, swiftly alleviated the initial and most severe burdens and concerns of the affected population.

The number of casualties from this air raid, including killed, wounded, and missing, remained relatively low due to the weeks of preparedness and repeated evacuation measures, which proved beneficial for the Berlin population.

The Berlin population has proven with exemplary discipline and brave defense readiness that it is capable of facing the enemy's terror. It will never yield to its threats and cowardly attacks. These days have shown that the population of Berlin is determined to defend the capital city with courage and steadfastness against British air terror, confronting the enemy's will to destroy with the full force of its material and spiritual resistance.

During my numerous travels and stays in the affected areas, I have received numerous demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to the leader and the Reich from the affected population, as well as a fierce hatred towards our enemies. For this, I thank our severely tested fellow citizens in particular. I have once again been very proud in recent days and nights to lead the capital of the Reich.

Our sympathy goes to the fellow citizens mourning their fallen relatives, but our entire help and care are dedicated to the affected population, the wounded, and the bereaved.

The Great Drama

September 5, 1943

The conclusion of the fourth year of war offers a welcome opportunity to cast a glance over the recent past and the near future. It seems appropriate, in this consideration, to return to the starting point of the great drama that has shaken the world since September 3, 1939. We believe it is reasonable to assume that none of the enemy statesmen or the secret powers who frivolously unleashed this war against the Reich at the beginning of September 1939 were then aware of the disastrous consequences that their fatal decision would entail. They acted out of hatred, feelings of inferiority, and ideological confusion, and in their shortsightedness, they surely believed that their combined forces would easily and in a not too distant time deal the deadly blow to the German people that they had missed despite their earnest efforts in Versailles.

It can hardly be claimed that within the coalition that confronted us in September 1939, there was even a single statesman with constructive ideas representing a modern world view and international order. It was, in all respects, pure reaction. Their plan was to crush the Reich because within it emerged the life force of the overpopulated young nations too spontaneously. They did not want Germany to exert its God-given powers. Hence, the war.

Presumably, they envisaged it quite differently in the enemy camp from how it actually unfolded. This is evident from the fact that in England, as long as the British people were spared its horrors, they spoke of it as a delightful war that, according to the plans of its secret and open authors, would proceed somewhat like this: the enemy armies would overrun the German armed forces at a time that suited them, march into Berlin, and there impose a peace of annihilation on the German people, against which the Westphalian or even the Versailles peace must have been considered true blessings. The German people and their leadership bear no guilt for this war; it was imposed upon them. Our intentions and plans were exclusively in the realms of peace. Unlike our opponents before the war, we faced no internal difficulties for which war was the only solution. The Reich was strong, well-established, and consolidated in all directions. The German leadership had

already earned so much historical glory through works of peaceful construction that it no longer needed to acquire such through provoking a war. The opposite applied, as is known, to the enemy side.

At the beginning of this war, the situation of the Reich was more than serious. In the West, Great Britain and France, covered by a defense line considered impregnable, launched a war of annihilation against the German people. In the field of naval warfare, England was determined to slowly starve us again through the means of blockade. In the East, the Polish army made the megalomaniac attempt to advance into the German homeland, and behind them, Bolshevism was on the brink, seizing every opportune moment to deal the Reich a fatal blow. If there was ever a reason to fear for the future of the German people, if we ever had a reason to consolidate all national strength to crush the dark threat of the traditional enemies of the Reich, it was then, when we, squeezed into a confined space, faced such an overpowering coalition without help and allies.

The leader succeeded in breaking the noose that held us at the beginning of the war through a sovereign, superior strategy. Not a single city of the Reich was occupied by the enemy, but territory after territory and military force after military force that threatened us at that time were either completely defeated or pushed back so far into their own space that today, there can no longer be talk of a territorial threat to the Reich. The sword of the enemy blockade at sea proved blunt. Today, we can no longer be starved either in terms of nutrition or raw materials. The war imposed on Germany, which was still a major question mark before us in September 1939, is now based on hard political and military facts. What we need for victory, we possess; we must now defend it.

Certainly, in the course of this four-year gigantic struggle, we have also had to accept setbacks and losses. But the vast spaces conquered by our troops allow us flexible warfare without seriously impairing our chances of victory. As has been emphasized often, we are sitting with the longer lever arm, and if the enemy saw any possibility of seizing the decisive bargaining chips that guarantee our victory, he would rather take them today than tomorrow. He does not see them. Hence, the shift of his warfare to an area where he has still proven himself a true master: he conducts the war as in the First World War, not against our soldiers, but against our women and children. Back then, he sought victory through hunger; today, he seeks it

through phosphorus. Back then, we owed him no answer to his terror against our homeland; today, we must make up for the answer we missed back then.

In the enemy camp, we are often confronted with the question of how we intend to win in this manner. We ask the same in return. For we possess the prerequisites for victory. The enemy, however, must strip us piece by piece of everything we have conquered if he wants to succeed. In London, Washington, and Moscow, as well as in Berlin, everyone knows this. Already, the capture of Sicily and certain withdrawals on our Eastern front have cost the enemy so much blood that one can easily calculate what would remain of him and his youth if he wanted to continue in this way and in what terrible proportion the commitment would soon stand to questionable success.

Of course, in London, they are right when they argue that it is not only a matter of the material strength of the Reich, but also a matter of the nerves of the German people. But we assume that the nerves of the peoples charging against us will not be strengthened by bloody operations like those of this summer. They are probably much worse off than us in this regard. It is therefore also a matter of which people oppose the growing burdens of war with a more steadfast attitude. We do not doubt for a moment that we will be that people.

It is in the nature of war that it undergoes new changes time and again. Its development mostly proceeds in a wave-like pattern, and its appearance can therefore sometimes change completely overnight. Precisely in view of this circumstance, it is good to have safeguards in hand that protect one to a certain degree against the variability of war fortune. This is the case with us in every respect. In our conduct of war, we do not live from hand to mouth; we draw our material and moral reserves for the defense of our lives and our freedom from a national fund that is fed not only by our own people's strength but also by the strength of vast territories conquered by our armed forces. Moreover, we benefit from the advantage of the inner line and thus secured communication routes, the lack of which makes the enemy's conduct of war so susceptible.

Furthermore, we represent a clear and well-defined political goal, which is by no means the case with the enemy. In contrast to him, we not only know what we do not want but also what we want. We advocate a modern world order; our enemies defend an old and overdue one. Our ideas

and visions of the future coexistence of nations point towards the future, while those of our opponents stem from a long since overcome past. The statesmen of the enemy coalition want to repeat the mistakes of Versailles and possibly even surpass them; we want to avoid and overcome them. Hence, the peoples of Europe have, in the distribution of their sympathies for the two warring sides, to decide whether the misery of the post-war period from then should be gigantically renewed or whether Europe should make a better start this time and orientate itself towards an understanding with all its self-confident nations.

On National Duties in War

September 12, 1943

It is provocative how our Anglo-American adversaries, in their public statements, disregard our political intelligence with naive indifference. However, a certain part of our people cannot entirely absolve themselves of blame for such insulting behavior. We all know that certain Germans, in their obsession with objectivity, allow the enemy to influence their personal opinions even during wartime, and in some cases, they reserve the right to agree with him even against their own fundamental interests. The principle that the fatherland overrides right or wrong has not yet permeated us to the extent that it can be considered a fixed principle of our national thinking. For certain outsiders of our people, it is customary to confront world events, as well as questions and concerns of their own country, purely objectively and critically. They act as if they are mere observers of developments. That it concerns their own lives as well as the lives of their people, and not that of a regime, hardly occurs to them in their considerations. It is precisely on this razor-thin stratum of the populace that the enemy's art of seduction speculates. They have chosen them as the object of their psychological warfare, and it does not speak highly of the intelligence of the outsiders that the enemy openly and bluntly admits to this.

Recently, a report circulated in enemy newspapers stating that the British and USA governments had conceived a never-before-seen propaganda campaign aimed at the morale of the German people. The timing for this is extremely favorable at the moment, and they also expect that certain circles in Germany will undoubtedly respond to these enemy attempts. It has long been clear to any insightful person that the enemy harbors such intentions; however, it is somewhat astonishing that they announce them to us so candidly. How must they assess our intelligence and character in the opposing camp, and do we as a people deserve this? In no way! We can only thank those who give them cause for this outright insulting judgment of our war morale; and undoubtedly, these are those wavering figures who would rather bite off a finger than clearly and unequivocally stand up for the interests of their own country even once.

One encounters such phenomena occasionally in daily interactions. They can neither love nor hate. Their emotional world is completely numb and entirely incapable of great national passion. Where they detect dangers, they do not participate in their combat and elimination; instead, they blow them up into flourishing fantasies, thereby causing fear in themselves and others, and besides, they put their hands in their pockets. One sometimes gets the impression that they are downright unhappy when the united efforts of the well-intentioned succeed in mastering such dangers. Belief in a great political ideal is not their thing; they lack the necessary steadfastness of character. In a word: we are dealing here with a kind of mutilation of the national instinct for life that lends itself directly to the enemy's psychological warfare. What is both insulting and astonishing is that this type of person appears admirable to the enemy for exactly what they themselves completely lack: stubborn adherence to the goal even under dubious and risky circumstances, strength not only in giving but above all in taking, national passion, the sense of sacrifice of a people in wartime transcending parties and views, hatred against their enemies, the rock-solid conviction that only their own cause can prevail, and above all, readiness to devote oneself to the fatherland up to the sacrifice of life.

Of course, these noble virtues are also abundantly present in the German people. How else could we withstand a world of envy and vindictiveness! They distinguish our soldiers on the front lines and our working men and women at home equally. We have every reason to be proud of our people, who have shown themselves fully capable of handling the heavy and heaviest burdens of this war and will continue to do so. It only deeply offends every German to see a thin layer of opportunists in the face of this downright insulting judgment of our enemies about our war morale, who are as vain and arrogant in good fortune as they are cowardly and characterless in misfortune. This is what the enemy means when he addresses the German people in a brazen and arrogant manner, offering them alternately carrots and sticks. The millions of Germans who have fulfilled their war duties and often more than these for four years at the front and at home do not deserve to be discredited by such evil phenomena. And therefore, it is time for them to defend themselves against it.

The German people have more than once declared their determined and unshakable will to endure this war to the last drumbeat and to end it only with victory. It wants to know nothing of the enemy's temptations, to which it

was all too willing in the second half of the First World War. It knows that the enemy is doing everything possible to repeat the experiment of that time, indeed, it hears with astonishment that this question is openly discussed over there, as if we were not listening or were immature children who do not understand the language of adults. All this is not enough for our superiors. They just want to know better. What more needs to happen to make them realize? They live in a world of illusions and wishful thinking. They approach the problems of this war with naive dilettantism, without any consideration that we are fighting for our lives and could, of course, lose them through our own fault.

In contrast, it is more necessary today than ever to repeatedly remind the entire German people of their national duties in wartime. Sometimes they fade into the background under the weight of events. But precisely then it is urgently necessary to heed them and by no means lose sight of them. There is only one sin against time and its suffering, that is cowardice. Those who cowardly evade a decision will one day have to capitulate to it. Those who become weak in the knees in danger would do well to at least hide it from their fellow human beings, so that they do not infect them with their vacillation. In war, one should strive to see every crisis and burden in the light in which they will appear in a year or even a decade; then they are easier to overcome. Even a year or a decade ago, we had our worries and cares. We did not die from them, indeed, the time in between has already completely changed them through memory, either forgotten or at least made bearable. So it will be in a year and certainly in a decade with the worries and pains that burden and torment us today.

A brave heart helps to overcome all difficulties, no matter how great they may seem at first. At the beginning, they often appear almost insurmountable. But despite them, life inexorably continues, and whoever stops in front of the ruins of their hopes risks losing touch and falling behind. In critical situations, one must take courage in both hands and leap over the looming trench. During the leap, one often realizes that it is not as wide as it initially seemed. Whoever has courage should leap first. He will see that the others follow him and in the end, even the less courageous will take heart. Even in the seemingly most meaningless absurdity of this destructive war imposed on us by our enemies, there lies deeply hidden a profound meaning. We just sometimes do not see it. But one day it will suddenly reappear in full clarity. We must never forget that today our eyes are often clouded by events.

There will come a time when we will slap our heads because we cannot understand today why we did not understand what seems completely incomprehensible to us at the moment. Only those who have learned to think historically now discover the deeper meaning that also fills our time. He gives strength from his knowledge to the weak and bravely stands up for his conviction, even if it is only a matter of his faith.

People with character have a great and important task to fulfill among their fellow human beings in war. It must be the ambition of each of us to live and act today as we all wish to have lived and acted after the war. Every war is a danger, and it is only in danger that the true character of a person is revealed. Who could not name from their environment this or that person whom they previously, when courage and civic courage cost nothing, never believed to be so brave or so cowardly! Whoever possesses a steadfast heart tends to prove it only in dangerous moments, and likewise, the one who used to boast of his courage is often useless in danger. We only get to know the heroes on the battlefield; in the garrison, they are mostly too modest to show themselves in their best light. But not only physical bravery, but also bravery of spirit and heart, is a high virtue. Whoever steadfastly and courageously stands up for his cause and the victory of his conviction in crises and emergencies proves character thereby. He remains standing in civilian life where he stands, without stepping back. He opposes virtuous temptations to the enemy that we Germans have only understood and come to understand properly in this war: civic courage!

A material battle of gigantic proportions is currently raging in the East. Once again, here lies the fate and future of our people, indeed, of our continent, on the scales of historical decision. Millions of German soldiers defend their homeland on greatly advanced positions, which, despite being far away, are still threatened. The fight being fought in the East requires more than courage. It demands the whole readiness to devote oneself of the man who knows that life is at stake. This war against Bolshevism is based on a deep historical sense that every one of us knows, at least dimly senses and feels. When, in these weeks, the floods of the East crash against our defense lines, only a historical process is repeated, which has often already put Western civilization to the ultimate test. We Germans have always been destined to stand up to this fight for our most sacred world, and that must happen again today, however embittering it maybe.

The Classic Example

September 19, 1943

It caused quite a stir at the time that the writer of these lines skipped his weekly editorial after July 25, on the Friday following. Some ill-intentioned individuals even believed this to imply that the events surrounding the fall of the Duce and the establishment of the Badoglio regime in Rome had left him breathless. There is no need today to prove otherwise. It would have been just as possible to address the public in that particular week as in any other, and precisely in this case, there was more to say about the issues of war and international politics than at any other time. But consideration for our national interests tied our tongues. What we could say, we did not want to, and what we wanted to say, we could not say.

There is no need to discuss that the betrayal planned by the Badoglio clique, which first emerged with the removal of the Duce from power, was immediately and fully understood by German military leadership. Nevertheless, they had to put on a good face to let the situation mature. Just like the traitorous clique, they also took their measures in utmost secrecy. To vary a phrase of Machiavelli's, it was the moment where it is a sign of great wisdom to act foolishly. Only thus could they thwart and smash the despicably sinister plans of the traitors in Rome.

This was thus the classic example of the necessity of silence in war. Since we were too honorable to proclaim something that went against our knowledge and conviction, and which, as we foresaw, would soon be disproven by events, since we also could not describe the true situation without contradicting the plans and intentions of the German military leadership, and since we did not want to expose ourselves to the accusation of journalistic shirking at this dramatic moment in the development of the war, we had no choice but to remain silent. We were firmly convinced that events would soon confirm our restraint.

They did so quickly and drastically, as we ourselves could not have imagined at the time. After the capture of the Duce, German military leadership proceeded from the clear understanding that the Badoglio regime

intended to lead Italy out of the war. All assurances from the reactionary clique of traitors in Rome regarding their loyalty and alliance fidelity could not convince them otherwise. One does not overthrow a strong man and replace him with a weak one, as the Badoglio clique wanted to deceive us into believing, in order to continue the war more energetically. The practical measures of the aforementioned clique in Rome indicated unequivocally that a large-scale act of treachery was underway, aimed not only at deceiving us but also at delivering our troops stationed in the South into the hands of the enemy and obtaining better armistice conditions through this treacherous betrayal.

The Badoglio regime did not intend to leave the war in an honorable manner, but solely to extricate itself from the war at the expense of its Axis partner, to whom Italy owed so much since 1940. Hence the pompous calls from royal quarters for the continuation of the fight and loyalty to the commitments made, juxtaposed with military and political actions of continued betrayal under the most disgraceful and humiliating conditions. Spare us the recounting of the entire scale of treachery of the Badoglio regime. Disgust rises in our throats at the mere thought of it. History had not yet seen a worse betrayal. But it was a disloyalty, of which the proverb already says that it strikes its own master.

German military leadership, of course, drew the necessary conclusions from the beginning of this development based on its clear insights. The fact that the planned betrayal by the Badoglio clique did not achieve its desired goal was solely because it was recognized by German military leadership and thwarted by appropriate countermeasures. Had it succeeded, the Reich would have faced the greatest danger of this war. We judge from the best knowledge of the facts when we declare that it is solely due to the clear-sightedness and foresight of the Leader that this danger was never lost sight of for a moment, and measures were taken which absolutely safeguarded German interests insofar as they were affected by this scandalous breach of faith.

The public knows under what shameful circumstances the betrayal itself was perfected. Not content with concealing planned measures from a loyal, reliable, and ever-generous ally, they also denied them when they were already underway and signed, and even went so far as to approach us with

demands for military concessions that, had they been fulfilled, would have brought about the gravest misfortune for our troops stationed in Italy.

One can now understand why, contrary to all public wishes, the Leader could not speak to the German people at this stage of an almost breathtaking development. The disappointment that frequently emerged must be accepted in the interest of the undisturbed progress of our measures. For it was to be expected that the clique of traitors in Rome would proceed with even more stupidity than moral bankruptcy. And our plan was based on that. We had to play dumb ourselves in order to act smarter.

Today, the German people read with horror the reports of the Duce's deposition and capture. They were already known to us at the time, without us being able to make use of them publicly. If one wants to make any reproach against fascism at all, then it is for having believed in the loyalty of a king whose throne he saved in 1922 through the March on Rome, but who, like most kings of recent history, rewarded the strong policies of his most faithful servants by treacherously betraying them in the moment of danger, in order to defect to the camp of their enemies and haters. Kings generally do not distinguish themselves by the virtue of gratitude. Wilhelm I, who represented an exception to this rule in his loyalty to Bismarck, therefore received the epithet "the Great". The Duce had been good enough for the degenerate court society in Rome to save them from the Bolshevik firing squad in 1922.

In 1943, they brought him down because they believed in their deluded folly that they could manage without him. The recent development has already proven how little this corresponds to reality. The violent removal of a strong man means anarchy. The Italian royal house soon had to experience how poorly it pays off to exchange a figure of historical stature with a cowardly, treacherous marshal who considers breaking a soldier's oath as the pinnacle of political wisdom.

One can only pity the Italian people, who became the victims of this nauseating affair. Just as peoples benefit from the actions and achievements of their strong governments, they also suffer from the mistakes and fallacies of their weak, dilettantish, and treacherous governments. Therefore, it was inevitable that the Italian people had to pay dearly for the darkest chapter of their history right from the start. They have every reason to thank the war

parasites in Roman society who hunger for peace. The thirteen points of the surrender treaty will have already given them a small taste of what awaits them. World history is the world court. The citizens of Italy may find out in these days, through studying the international press, what friends and foes think about the betrayal of the king and general clique. Even the English and Americans are disgusted. They currently act according to the motto: "I love treason, but I despise the traitor." There is no need for those concerned about the royal court to doubt the judgment of history. It has already been rendered.

In London and Washington, there is some astonishment about the German reaction to the betrayal of the Badoglio regime.

One had envisioned the situation quite differently, namely that the German forces operating in southern Italy would be cut off and destroyed. Then came the amphibious landing operations predicted by Churchill, to which we were not equal; air terror was to experience further escalation, and all of this together was to plunge the German people into such a depressive mood that a repetition of the tragedy of 1918 seemed possible and likely on November 9. None of this has happened and, of course, will not happen. The English and Americans have a long way to go to Rome, let alone Berlin. The German Wehrmacht has asserted its sovereign superiority in the Italian question. And as for the mood of the German people, it has never been as resolutely determined throughout the war as it is today.

The Italian example does not encourage us Germans but rather serves as a deterrent. We see it as a classic example of how not to do things. No one among us has the ambition to follow in the footsteps of the Badoglio clique. On the contrary, the consequences that the betrayal of the royal clique in Rome had on a great leader of the people and then on his powerful friends are a lesson and a warning for every German. They have also opened the eyes of the most foolish and frivolous among us. In the flood of letters that have arrived with us in recent days, there are also some in which the writers repentantly apologize that they have allowed their bad mood to run wild in this or that adversity of the war, which they now deeply regret in view of the Italian misfortune. A university professor writes to us that he is otherwise a peaceful man, but after reading about the capitulation conditions imposed on the Italian people, he has firmly resolved to personally and manually discipline anyone who even hints at being against the war or the certainty of

victory in his presence. This is how and similarly all think in Germany today. Danger has not made us despondent but has only brought us closer together.

Thus, none of the English-American hopes have come true. They fired a poisoned arrow at us, but the arrow rebounded against the foresight of our leadership and the tough war morale of our people and fell back on the shooter. An initially seemingly deadly danger has been averted, and thus a national disaster has once again turned into great fortune. How could we not trust the wisdom of the Leader of the German people?

The 30 Articles of War for the German People

September 26, 1943

These are the Articles of War for the German people in the greatest fateful struggle of our history. In their spirit,countless of the best Germans have also given their lives for the freedom and future of our people in this gigantic struggle, both on the front lines and at home. For this cause, millions of brave German soldiers fight on all fronts, and millions of diligent men and women work tirelessly at home, in factories, workshops, offices, and laboratories, as well as in the fields.

These Articles of War are to be a legacy from the fallen of our people to the living — to the fighters and workers as confirmation of their high sense of sacrifice, but to the hesitant and undecided as a stern warning and strict admonition.

Article 1

Anything may be possible in this war, except that we shall ever capitulate and bow under the enemy's violence. Whoever speaks of or even thinks of this commits a cowardly betrayal of the right to life of his people and must be expelled with shame and disgrace from the fighting and working German community.

Article 2

We fight this war for our right to life. If we win it, we can and will overcome its damages and sufferings caused by it through the use of our entire national strength in a relatively short time. Its loss would be the end of our people and its history.

Article 3

This war is a defensive war. It has been imposed on us by our enemies for the purpose of cutting off every national possibility of life and development. If they were to achieve this goal, the present generation would have squandered everything that countless German generations before it acquired in a thousand-year struggle for life and built up through painstaking effort and sacrifice. In the concluding chapter of the history of our people, only our disgrace and shame would then be recorded.

Article 4

Like any war, this one also brings countless dangers and risks. Everyone should remember that every danger and risk can be overcome if a great nation like the Germans, with a strong and determined leadership like that of this war, opposes it with all its strength and leaves no means untried to deal with it.

Article 5

If all Germans think and act with the deepest sense of community like the best sons of our people, then we will certainly win this war. If, on the other hand, everyone lacks this sense of community like the lazy, cowardly, and fickle, then it would have been lost long ago. Thus, the war stands and falls with the community spirit of our people.

Article 6

The German demonstrates community spirit who, just as he claims the right to life of his people, also faithfully and conscientiously fulfills the life duties of his people. Even in peace and under normal circumstances, everyone depends on the help and support of the community and must therefore fully participate in its burdens and tasks. How much more must this be the case in war!

Article 7

Every advice that comes from the enemy is a temptation to our war morale. The enemy, just like us, wants to win. Everything he says and does is

meant to deceive us through cunning and surprise us through deceit. Therefore, whoever listens to the enemy, even if he uses seemingly hypocritical arguments, betrays his people in the gravest danger. Even ignorance should not protect him from the punishment he deserves.

Article 8

Silence is a high command of warfare. Only a few know the secrets of war. These represent weapons in the life struggle of our people and must therefore under no circumstances be disclosed to the enemy. Therefore, it is unfair and detrimental to the general welfare to force the government through the spread of rumors to make public statements on a war-important or even war-decisive issue that benefit the enemy and thus inflict the greatest harm on our own people.

Article 9

The conduct of the war acts according to the best knowledge and conscience. Since in many cases it cannot clarify the reasons for its actions publicly without also giving valuable hints to the enemy, it sometimes happens that even the well-intentioned do not fully understand this. At such times, the conduct of the war is entitled to the trust of the people, which it has earned through countless proofs of its courage, boldness, foresight, but also its successes. The know-it-all can only criticize it because it is condemned to silence; if it could speak, it would be immediately refuted.

Article 10

There is only one thing in this war that we must never lose: that is our freedom, the root of our life and our future. Everything else is replaceable, although sometimes only through the most severe, years-long efforts. A loss of our freedom, on the other hand, would lead to the loss of every other material and cultural possession of our people as a whole as well as of its citizens individually. Therefore, if the war situation demands it, we must bring everything we are and everything we have into play in order to preserve and defend what we cannot live without as a people and as individuals. That is our freedom.

Article 11

It is an old trick of political warfare to separate a people from its government in order to make it leaderless and thus defenseless. If this trick were to succeed with us, it would be the only means by which the enemy could overcome us.

Article 12

Beware of the clever ones who try to gain your trust with deceptive words and then undermine your steadfastness with a flood of phrases and rumors. Examine carefully what they say, and you will soon recognize that it is not intelligence but cowardice that guides them. They may be know-it-alls, but they are by no means better-doers. If they were, instead of criticizing, they would fill an important war position at the front or at home and contribute to accelerating victory through their performance.

Article 13

Whoever speaks about the war and its prospects should always choose their words as if the enemy were listening. Because in many cases, he actually is listening, and every thoughtless expression from our side gives him new courage and impetus and therefore prolongs the war. Dissatisfaction and annoyance over this or that hardship of the war may sometimes be justified, but in relation to the great national destiny that we are experiencing and fighting through today, they are mostly of subordinate importance.

Article 14

Help all those in need as much as possible. If effective help in war is not feasible, the affected person must know that it can only be a later consequence of victory. Victory is the prerequisite for a national reconstruction that eliminates all the damages of war. The more sacrifices we have made and continue to make for the war, the more fanatically we must believe in, work for, and fight for victory. Because only through victory do even the heaviest sacrifices gain their meaning.

Article 15

It is imperative that everyone familiarize themselves in the most precise manner with their war duties laid down in laws and regulations. Anyone who violates such laws or regulations out of negligence or forgetfulness thereby causes precisely the same damage as if they did it out of malice. Already for this reason, they cannot expect leniency. War is a serious matter that everyone must take as seriously as it deserves.

Article 16

Every habit dulls, even that of war. Therefore, we must fight against the war habit every day and every hour so that it does not lead to a dullness in fulfilling our war duties. What is our habit today will be the subject of the highest admiration of our children and grandchildren in a few decades. They will no longer feel the soul anguish that the long duration of the war causes us but will see and evaluate the war only in its entirety as the greatest heroic experience of our national history. Let us not forget this in the war-tedium of everyday life.

Article 17

Everything, including war, comes to an end at some point. We only need to ensure that it ends in a happy way for us. We can achieve this above all through equanimity and steadfastness of heart. The people will win who bring the most of these virtues.

Article 18

There is no more foolish phrase than that the leadership has it better than the people. What the individual has to bear may sometimes be heavier materially. But the heaviest burden is the burden of responsibility, as the worries it brings never cease. Therefore, do not be unjust and do not judge lightly from a momentary annoyance on a question that usually escapes the judgment of the uninvolved.

Article 19

Nothing is more contemptible than taking the position that part of the people fight the war and the other only needs to watch. This is not a war of the regime or the armed forces but a war of the people. Anyone who

remains uninvolved proves only that they do not understand their sense at all. They are a war parasite who lives off the suffering and achievements that others undertake and accomplish for him. If these thought and acted exactly as he does, we would lose the war. Therefore, for the sake of the well-intentioned, the one who neglects his war duties must be called to order. This is required for immediate war benefit but also for public war morale.

Article 20

Just as in war, there are decorations and awards for those who stand out in fulfilling their war duties, there must be reprimands and possibly harsh penalties for those who neglect their war duties. A neglected war duty weighs much heavier than a neglected peace duty. Every German today lives under war laws. They provide for harsh penalties, often also for offenses that are not too serious in peace. In war, they become shameful crimes because they endanger victory, thus deserving the strictest punishment.

Article 21

The soldier dies at the front in the fulfillment of his hard duty. He can demand that the one at home who sabotages or endangers the war suffer death. The front is entitled to be covered by the high war morale of the people.

Article 22

It is not always clear what specific war duties involve. Sometimes one must only meet them at one's post. Other times, they must be expressed in an active attitude, in powerful and determined resistance against every word or every deed that the enemy speaks or takes. Only those who are inclined to cheat themselves and therefore betray their people, can have thoughts that do not aim at the highest war success. Their doubts are sinful and must be combated as if they were a mortal sin.

Article 23

It is a dangerous error to believe that a war can be lost without blame for this blame being attributed to individual individuals or groups of people. Everyone must recognize that this blame would be in the world for

all eternity. A war is not lost by a sudden death. Every war decision leads to the next, and if one does not win it today, they will still take it in many generations of our people to fight back from the brink of extermination and end for their own good.

Article 24

Our ancestors worked in the most persistent and often the most serious errors. But they were all seriously and honestly convinced of their immortality and served it with devotion. Their knowledge of the past is the most beautiful and richest source of today's self-assurance in the struggle and misery of the war. It is also the strongest warning against the belief that everything is eternal and that we are no longer devoted to it. We should never forget that the other party also existed and served an immortality that also has to be shown to the blind path.

Article 25

It is in the front in the trenches that everyone learns what the work and the home of the peaceful work is as at the front. At the front, the determination is to be and to live as the war does and to tolerate it in the sense of war experience. With everything, but also with the enemy, with a plan of peace and with all that is hostile to us, we will take every other step against this opposition, the needs of the war have almost thought them that in their true horror and horror upon the steps of the time and place, may never forget the same kind of we pay for the fighters of worker and farmer and flanks and news of all to keep a working campaign of the foundation of and in the post for all of some of them should be a German with and with the next to bring with the enemy is sent in the same most important has been a proven to lead the suffer in the minds that the heart, on the air and to all of that is the men of the people of the front in the people to put that, with them in the most of the fact the most important of the troops of the same length of the present same distance from the front in the war of the and all of the full of the German people to put that was in the most of the far from the state that the battle, on a man with the beginning of the beginning of the defense in a sense of the enemy.

Article 26

The duty in war goes so far that the individual must even sacrifice their life to preserve and protect the life of their people. Faced with this highest and irrevocable sacrifice, how could one not also demand that everyone, when the situation requires it, renounce their possessions and property to serve victory and ensure the protection of their people's community! Only through willingness to make such sacrifices does a collection of individuals become a people, and in a higher sense, a nation.

Article 27

The German nation, free and capable of life and development in all directions, is the goal of our politics and war strategy. Our generation must secure this goal through struggle and hard work. Given the circumstances, the achievement of this goal cannot be postponed. Either we attain it, or it will never be attained.

Article 28

Our generation bears not only special burdens but also special honor. If we triumph in battle—and we can and must triumph—then we will pass into German history as the most glorified generation. If we fail, our name will be scorned and cursed by succeeding generations for centuries to come, burdened with the terrible weight of our failure.

Article 29

There are people who are hardly concerned about this. These are the materialists who think only of their comfort and pleasure, possessing no sense of historical duty. They can only be met with the deepest contempt. Driven by pleasure-seeking, they would be ready to sacrifice the entire future of our people. Wherever they speak up, they must be vigorously opposed. They do not understand reasoned discussion, as they judge only from self-interest. They act according to the principle: "After us, the deluge!" We counter this characterless mentality with the principle: "If we must forego our happiness for many years, at least may our children and grandchildren have a better life!"

Article 30

In everything you do and omit, in everything you say and withhold, remember that you are German! Believe faithfully and unshakably in the leader and in victory! Keep in mind always that you are a child of the bravest and most diligent people on earth, which must endure much misfortune and suffering to reach its goal. Despite everything, we will achieve this goal if it remains faithful to the noble virtues dormant within it and is prepared in this war to sacrifice everything necessary to secure its freedom and future.

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